

Here
will be
a

IT
SHIT

PREFACE

this is a student attempt

to discuss the Newark riots. ~~in~~

We have tried to present an
honest, objective ~~and~~ study of

the ~~the~~ violence of July 1967, its

causes and effects. These views

are not those of the Archdiocese of

Newark, nor of ^{Essex} C. C. High School, but

are rather those of the students

involved in ~~the~~ ~~the~~ this effort.

Dedication

~~The Dedication~~

To Thomas C. Murray

because ^{of his} guidance, inspiration, efforts
and dedication ~~for~~ ~~and~~ ~~on~~ ~~behalf~~
~~of~~ the students of Essex Catholic
High School.

Part
I

THE RIOT

The morning of July 12, 1967 was like any other Wednesday morning in July. It was warm, but not as warm as last year. Business in the city was as usual for the season, moderate but uneven. Most stores would remain open that night, like any other Wednesday night. At 9:30 Wednesday morning, there was a lull before the storm. At 9:40 Wednesday night, the storm unleashed all its bigoted fury, and raged over Newark for nearly a week. When it finally abated, it left 25 dead, 1200 injured, 1350 arrested, business potential destroyed, and a deep scar, as plain as black and white, that will never heal.

At 9:40 P.M. July 12, Patrolmen John De Simone and Vito Pandrelli were riding along 15th Ave. in their radio car. Through their rear view mirror, they still saw the cab that had been tailgating them for several blocks. The cab passed them, and continued down the street on the wrong side for a block. The police car overtook the cab at 9th St. The cabbie, John ~~Seymour~~ ^{SMITH} of 214 Seymour Ave., refused to leave his cab when asked by police, and became very abusive. The two officers were then forced to drag Smith out of his vehicle. Smith started to use profane language and assaulted both policemen. After a struggle, Smith was subdued and taken to the Fourth Precinct at 17th St. and Livingston Ave. Here a crowd started to gather, demanding Smith's release. Meanwhile, Smith was charged with "loud and abusive language, resisting arrest,

assault on a policeman, and driving while on the revoked list." The crowd became ^{noisy} in their demands for Smith's released. At 10:10 P.M., Police Inspector Melchior and several members of Area Board 2 arrived at the Fourth. These Board members wished to talk with Smith, and their request was granted. Afterwards, with Inspector Melchior's approval, Smith was taken to Beth Israel Hospital in a police ambulance, complaining of head and chest pains. He was X-rayed and found to have a cracked rib. He was treated at Beth Israel and then taken to Police Headquarters, where he was released on bail and disappeared. In the meantime, 15 cabs gathered in the vicinity of the Fourth and started the rumor that Smith was dead. These cabs then took about 75 people to City Hall, where they demonstrated against "police brutality". A few minutes later, Oliver Lofton, head of the Newark Legal Aid Project, appeared on the steps of the Fourth, and told the crowd that Smith was alive. It was too late. Most of the crowd had already left, spreading the rumor of John Smith's death with them. Lofton also promised full support of Smith, and anyone else who was arrested "doing what he had to do". The crowd grew again and became unruly. Civil Rights' leaders, attempting to stem off a riot, asked that police be taken off the streets and give them 15 minutes to calm the crowd. The police did this, but, unfortunately, the Civil Rights' leaders could not. Police Director Dominic Spina arrived at 12:30 A.M.

and a few minutes, the "siege" of the Fourth began. Two cars were set afire. Fire trucks, unprotected and unprepared, were pelted with rocks, bricks, and bottles. Then, the looting started. The first to be hit was Harry's Liquor Store at 121 Belmont Ave. The next was Dugel's Fine Foods at Belmont and Montgomery Aves. Now, the police took the pleadings of Area Board 2 members and threw them to the wind. Four groups of ten men each moved out in a futile attempt to stop the looting. In all, 15 stores were looted. By 5A.M. (^{THURSDAY}~~Friday~~), looting had stopped and the siege had ended. Arrests numbered about 12, including Smith. Thursday, July 13, Mayor Addonizio held a press conference at which he called the trouble in the Central Ward "an isolated incident". He also stated that "there was no riot alert. We're concerned, but not unduly concerned." He reported that the following action was being taken:

1: John De Simone and Vito Pandrelli were reassigned, pending further investigation.

2: Director Spina and James Threatt, secretary of the Newark Human Rights Commission, were to make independent investigations, due Monday, July 17.

3: The entire case was turned over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Thursday was a fair, warm day, just like the previous one. However, there was an air of apprehension which hung over

the city. Someone, and to this day no one knows who, had given permission for a "peace rally" to be held on the steps of the Fourth Precinct at 7 P.M. that night. Smith had disappeared and there were still rumors of his death. Moreover, an anonymous phone call warned police that SNCC's H. Rap Brown would be in Newark that night. A few minutes before 7 P.M., the crowd started to gathered in front of the Fourth, carrying with them bottles and rocks, as if planning trouble. There were a few speakers, some chanting, and a few more speakers. About 7:45, the first rock hit the Precinct. Soon, every window was broken. At 8 P.M., the police tried to break up the crowd that was outside. They failed. At 8:30, all hell broke loose. Reports of looting jammed police switchboards. The police moved, but with too little, too late. One precinct, in the heart of the riot area, had 6 riot guns, 3 owned by policemen. All over there was a tremendous lack of equipment. Individual policemen were afraid to use their weapons. The big factor was sheer numbers. The police were just overpowered. Yet, by 11:30 P.M., Mayor Addonizio believed that the "trouble was under control". At 2:10 A.M. (Friday) the riot saw its first gun battle. At 2:20 A.M., Mayor Addonizio called Gov. Hughes and requested State aid, saying that "the situation has deteriorated from a serious disturbance to a riot." Gov. Hughes immediately granted his request, assuring the Mayor that help would be in

Newark by 6 A.M. Gov Hughes imposed a midnight curfew and closed all liquor stores and taverns, a move that had already been made in the Fourth Precinct area by Captain Charles Zizza earlier in the night. An unidentified looter had already been shot and killed by police at 14th Ave. and Jones St. Two others were shot by snipers. They were identified as Teddy Bell and Mrs. Jessie Jones, both of whom later died. At an emergency session, the City Council gave police a blank check to put an end to the riot. By 6 A.M., the help promised by Gov. Hughes began to arrive in the form of 300 State Police. By 8 A.M. Friday,,the National Guard began rolling in. Under the joint command of Col. Kelly of the State Police, the National Guard, State and local police attempted to contain the riot in a area around Elizabeth Ave., from Broad St. to the East Orange line, and Springfield Ave., from High St. to S,10th St. Looting continued through the night, as did widespread fire-bombing. After taking a quick ride through the riot-torn Central Ward, one reporter wrote "It was like the walls of Jericho had just came tumbling down". That morning, Gov. Hughes spoke of "obvious open rebellion", and Robert Curvin, ex-chairman of the Essex County CORE Chapter, spoke of "widespread rebellion" and of "a fantastically aggressive people". James Walker, who tried to calm the crowds, said, "When it gets to be a mob, we can't do anything about it".

By daybreak, there were 3 dead, 350 injured, and 425 arrested. Even with the National Guard and State Police, widespread looting continued in broad daylight most of Friday. The Prudential Insurance Co. closed early, as did most of the major department stores. Then, late Friday afternoon, the police suffered their first fatality. Det. Fred Toto was shot by a sniper in the Stella Wright Projects and died on the operating table. Early Friday night, a new trend in the riot was discernable. Looting and fires lessened and sniping increased. Indeed, sniping did increase and, worse yet, became more accurate. Besides Toto, snipers killed at least 4 other persons, including 10 year- old Edward Moss. It soon became clear, however, that these snipers were out to distract rather than to kill. They would fire wildly into the night, forcing 5 or 6 police cars to respond, allowing the uncovered areas to be left open for looters. Meanwhile, the snipers had disappeared and set up shop in another section.

By Saturday morning, the riot area had increased to a 10 square mile section of Newark bounded by High Street on the east, the Newark-Irvington line on the west, Central Avenue on the north, and Clinton Avenue on the south. The total arrest count was 800 and the total number hurt was 350.

Early Saturday, Gov. Hughes held a press conference at which he said that Newark was in a state of "criminal insurrection". It was at this conference that he made a statement that may go down in history. An angry and resolute Gov. Hughes said, "The line between the jungle and the law
mi

might as well be drawn here as well as any place in America." There were still looting incidents, but on the whole, Saturday saw a break in the riot. Some of the downtown department opened for a short time, but soon closed because of the lack of customers. The civil authorities soon had two new worries on their hands. The easiest to solve was the lack of food in the Central Ward. Traffic was prohibited from entering the riot area and all of the food stores had been looted. Mayor Addonizio had kitchens set up in each of the Housing projects. The other worry that faced the police was the threat of near civil war. Col. Kelly received a report from the F.B.I. in Buffalo that 20 to 30 carloads of Negroes were heading to Newark from Detroit. Two trucks from New York were stopped just outside Newark, loaded with men and arms. To complicate matters, the whites of the city were arming themselves. Riding along Bloomfield Avenue, one could see old men sitting on their porches, with armed with shotguns. The Forest Hill section of the city was an armed fortress. All the police could do about this problem was to pray. Later, at a another press conference, Gov. Hughes said, in effect, that vigilantes would not be tolerated any more than rioters. He also stated that the ban on liquor and the curfew were still in effect. He also issued a statement, debateable to this day, that said that, at this time, there was no evidence of any Communist influence in the riot.

The statistics of the riot were staggering. So far, there were 20 killed, 1200 arrested, 1000 injured. And the riot was far from over. Saturday night was calm in comparison with Thursday and Friday. Violence flared in the predominately white neighborhood of Vailsburg for the first time. The threat of vigilante violence seemed more fact than theory, as police broke up roving gangs of white youths at Bloomfield Avenue and Mt. Prospect Avenue. The weather finally came to the aid of the police as torrential downpours soaked the city. As one policeman said, "We prayed for rain, a snowstorm, anything. When it rained Saturday, it was too good to be true." Snipers continued their harassment, now picking on the inexperienced National Guard. The rioters had a new trick up their sleeve. Since only a minimum of cars responded to the sniper reports, would-be looters would call in false reports of looting in a distant section of the precinct area. By placing enough false reports, looters could clear half the precinct area of police cars. Even with the help of Guardsmen and State Police, it was almost impossible to cover every looting report.

Sunday seemed like the day of rest that should have been. There was very little looting. It was as if the 4 day drinking spree was over, and all that was left was the hangover. Even in such a serious thing as a riot, there was some humor. Two policemen were on foot when they saw 4 men looting a liquor

on the outskirts of the riot area. They stopped them, siezed the evidence, and placed the looters under arrest. After finding that all the cars in their district were being used, they improvised and used a convertible of a looter. They placed the 4 men in the car, 2 in front, 2 in back. They themselves sat on the back of the car, covering all 4 men with their shot-guns. One policeman, seeing the car heading for the precinct, said unconsciously, "It was a riot to see those two with their prisoners." In the police force, they call it dedication.

It was so quiet Sunday, that Gov. Hughes ordered the Guardsmen home. He also took away all restrictions except the liquor ban. With this news, the switchboards at City Hall and Police Headquarters were jammed with calls from nervous and irate citizens who were afraid the riot would flared as soon as the National Guard left. This did not happen. For all practical purposes, the riot was over. Police were still putting in a 12 hour day, and riding in 5 man cars. Everyone was waiting for the spark that would ignite the city again, but it never came.

AT a news conference Tuesday, July 18, Mayor Addonizio admitted that there may have been planning in the riot.

It is a accepted fact that business in Newark was the hardest hit by the riot. Besides the loss of stock, many storeowners were without fire insurance.

Many Negroes will readily admit that the true cause of the Newark riots in the summer of 1967 was not the incident involving cabbie John Smith, nor the appointment of a white high school graduate over a better qualified Negro college graduate to the School Board. These were not the root causes, but rather the sparks which set off the explosion. For a long time now, deep frustration and heartfelt injustice have been seething in the Negro mind.

He has, for the most part, been forced into underdeveloped housing projects, been paid penny-pinching wages for degrading, dirty jobs. The lower class Negro has seen America and its opulent society. Naturally he does not wish to be content with what little he has while white America enjoys a more healthy and happy life which, rightfully, should be his also. His appetite has been whetted and he can see what lies ahead if he presses "whitey" hard enough for equality.

The middle-class Negro has his just gripes also. He is feeling a deep sense of pain and humility which he thought was buried deep in his past. He may have worked very hard to merit a college degree and (or) a reputable job just to find that he is treated like garbage.

Many Negroes feel that the only way they are going to obtain true freedom is through a lot of blood, sweat and tears. It was inevitable that rioting would come. Of course, the vast majority of the Negro population did not participate in these riots, but they all share the common feeling of injustice. Responsible Negro leaders attest that, even though most did not take part actively, a substantial part of their people did sympathize with the rioters. There was also a large part of the population who actually condoned the riots. As a young, anti-poverty worker glanced down garbage cluttered Springfield Avenue, he remarked, " Riots like this will occur until discrimination stops and we Negroes are allowed to be men."

Charles Silberman summed up the Negro saga well in his Crisis in Black and White when he said, "The Negro's impatience, bitterness and anger are likely to increase the closer he comes to full equality."

The Radical Negro

New Chapter

In the early morning hours of Friday, July 13, State Police and National Guardsmen started to move into Newark's Central Ward. Newark, New Jersey's largest city, found itself on the verge of the worst racial riot in the state's history. What caused such civil disorder? What prompted the eruption of "The Long Hot Summer?" Did the state foresee this turmoil and how did it react when it came?

On July 12, a group of Negroes stormed the Fourth Police Precinct in Newark, in protest of alleged police brutality towards a Negro taxi driver. The strains on this overcrowded Negro ghetto, the Central Ward, were building up to more than just picket lines. Tempers flared, and the worst racial disturbance since 1965, when Watts, Los Angeles shook the nation was underway. The Central Ward was teeming with the most underprivileged of Newark's 200,000 Negroes. Bands of Negroes began to smash windows and the fires could be seen by surrounding communities. Snipers fired from the tenement houses without discrimination as to who they hit. Mayor Addonizio alerted Governor Hughes and by Friday morning, 3750 city and state police together with 3,000 National Guardsmen moved in to break the resistance.

New Chapter

The city of Newark, New Jersey was struck this past summer by five days of rioting and looting. This city has a population of 400,000 and ⁵⁴52% of these people are Negro. Before the riots the city had the highest rate of venereal disease and the highest mortality rate of any city of comparable size in the country. It also had the second highest substandard housing, and the lowest per capita income. Another factor was that Newark had the lowest highest unemployment rate in the country, that being 8.2%.

Before the riots, the Newark Police did not have the best relations with the inhabitants and after them the relations were even more strained. In view of this fact though, there were no charges of police brutality brought against the Newark officers. This fact indicates that the city's actions against the rioters were perfectly legal and fair.

What actions were taken against the rioters?

Were these actions fair or discriminatory?

Were looters treated appropriately?

In what type of environment were these prisoners kept?

How were the rioters and looters treated after the riots?

What has happened to the case of LeRoi Jones ?

Were the prisoners given fair legal aid after the riots?

These and some other questions will be answered in the following pages.

AT the beginning of this riot, the Newark policemen were issued helmets but were directed to remain inside. Once the police began to roam the city, they were told that if they were shot at they were to leave the area. This directive was received with sighs of relief from the besieged officers. On the first night there was comparative silence, but the ensuing evenings were much more hectic. The second night the police were directed to shoot back only in self-defense. Again this order was gratefully relieving for the officers in the stricken area. These men had been ducking snipers' bullets all day and were very edgy. Over the squad car radios came sighs of "It's about time", and more angry cries of "Now we'll show 'em". There is much speculation on how fair the police were in returning the fire but the general opinion is that, for the most part, the police were not "picking on" the Negroes in the area. After the second night of rioting and looting, the police were directed to return any fire they received. This is the point where the police were mostly accused of discrimination. They were accused of purposely shooting up the store windows which had the words "soul brother" written on them. This accusation was never entirely cleared up but is believed to be true in many cases. The police were being attacked and there was very little which they were able to do in retaliation, so it is

very possible that the policemen and National Guardsmen were not terribly carefull in their aiming.

The greatest amount of arrests made during the riots were by far these for looting. The penalty for this crime is a maximum of six years imprisonment. This is another sore point in this issue. How gently were the rioters treated? Most Negroes say that the police were far from gentle, in fact, they say that the arresting officers were quite brutal. On the other hand the police say that they used only enough force to make the arrest. On the basis of television viewing , on must say that there was an excess of "necessary force" used. The police were seen pushing and shoving the on-lookers, so one can easily imagine what was done to the rioters themselves.

Where were the arrested Negroes taken? In the beginning of the riots, the prisoners were taken to an armory on Roosevelt Ave. in Newark. The arrests continued to mount so after a while they were brought to the Sussex Ave. Armory. This is an old, dusty, building on the outskirts of the riot area. Mayor Hugh J. Addonizio, of Newark, says that they used the most appropriate facilities that they could find. The question arises, "How hard did they look". If any claims came in that this building was an unjust place to keep anyone, they would surely be well-founded. Once in this building one immediately

notices the fact that the temperature is only a few degrees different from outside, and since the riots took place during the summer, and there were two-hundred prisoners in there, it must have been unbearably hot. Also the air is difficult to breathe when there are only thirty or forty people never mind two hundred. It is not suggested that these places be air conditioned, for this would be both unpractical as well as useless,, but surely something could be done to further the comfort of the prisoners' temporary homes?

As a further precaution, exits 144 and 145 of the Garden State Parkway were closed. This action was taken to prevent any more outside agitators from entering the city. There had already been reports that members of SNCC were involved in the riots but these reports were never validated.

On the last day or two of the riots, volunteers, after securing permission, walked through the riot area wearing chartreuse arm-bands, and distributing leaflets which advised there fellow Negroes to "Play it cool". These volunteers did a lot of good in quieting down the still restless crowds.

~~At this time also Gov. Hughes was calling for a more rigid gun-control law.~~

While on the topic of guns, one must bring up the case of Mr. LeRoi Jones. Mr. Jones was accused of the

illegal possession of arms. Jones, a Negro poet was driving a blue van through the city and, since the police were on the look-out for such a vehicle, he was stopped and his car was searched. This search turned up two pistols which Mr. Jones said were planted there by the police. He was taken into custody, But here the trouble started. He, LeRoi Jones, claimed police brutality and the police claimed that he resisted arrest. In this case who is to be believed? Well, considering the former record of Mr. Jones, his story is , to put it bluntly, a trifle unbelievable. Mr. Jones' "temper" was further shown when his trial finally came about. He made an outburst in court for which he was sentenced to thirty days in jail for contempt of court. After giving the court a promise that there would be no more outbursts, Mr. Jones returned to court and was further sentenced two and a half to three years imprisonment for the charge of illegally possessing firearms.

Another individual connected with the riot aftermath is Mr. Thomas Hayden. Mr. Hayden is a prominent civil rights leader and the author of the book "Newark in Rebellion". This book attempts to describe the deaths of twenty-four Negroes during the riots. Because of this information which he supposedly had, Mr. Hayden was Subpoened to appeared before the courts to testify about the Newark riots. He refused to appear saying

that under New Jersey State Law, a newspaperman does not have to disclose his sources. When Mr. Hayden's trial finally came about, Essex County Prosecutor Brendan T. Byrne stated that his testimony had no real value. Mr. Byrne said that all of Jones' information was second hand. In turn Hayden called the jury a "rubber-stamp jury". Could the reason for this statement be that Mr. Hayden was miffed at having been put down?

The final action taken by the city was a thirty-four million dollar ~~sl~~ slander suit filed by Police Director Dominic Spina against the cab driver whose arrest started the whole riot, John W. Smith.

The This Action is not to be taken in court. Final judgement on this case is still pending

1.

New Chapter
The Newark Police Department

As one would have expected, the spark that supposedly ignited the Newark riot was an alleged police brutality incident. On the evening of Wednesday, July 12, a squad car manned by Officers John DeSimone and Vito Pontrelli was peacefully driving along 15th Avenue. Directly behind them was Cab 45 of the Safety Cab Company driven by John William Smith. The 42-year old Negro cabole had been tailgating them for a quarter mile, alternately braking and accelerating, flicking his headlights on and off, when suddenly he cut out in front of the radio car. He then proceeded down the wrong side of the road for a few blocks until he was stopped by the police at the corner of 9th Street. When they requested his driver's license and registration, he replied, "What the f--k do you call this, you white mother f--kers!" The police then asked him to get out of the cab. Again, he said, "F--k you!" At this point the officers told him that he was under arrest, but he was still reluctant to leave the cab. Their only alternative was to forcibly remove him and bring him to the precinct. When they attempted this, Smith struck Officer DeSimone in the face, which caused him lacerations that later required medical treatment. Smith also struck Officer Pontrelli in the stomach. He was finally subdued by necessary force and put into the radio car.

Meanwhile, a crowd had assembled to watch the scuffle. Into this crowd slipped the nameless woman who was riding in Smith's cab at the time of his arrest.

This fact went unnoticed by the newspapers and magazines and to this day absolutely no information has been uncovered concerning her. If ever found, she would probably be able to shed some light on the imprudent actions of John Smith.

All the way to the 4th Precinct, Smith had to be restrained by one officer while the other was driving. Even though he was being held down in the car, he kept swinging his arms and kept violently striking the officer who was driving in the head. When they finally arrived at the 4th Precinct, Smith refused to leave the radio car. He had to be forcibly removed and carried into the precinct by four policemen. All during this time he was swinging and kicking at the officers. Having been brought into the precinct, he refused to stand up while being booked and several times he threw himself on the floor. Since he was not cooperating very well, he was carried bodily into a cell. It was later discovered that Smith's license had been revoked and that he had received several traffic summonses.

Now I would like to dispel some of the fallacies and incongruities that have arisen concerning John Smith in relation to the Newark Police. Tom Hayden, author of Rebellion in Newark, states: "Smith's cab drove around a police car double parked on 15th Avenue." This is an outright lie! The police car was not "double parked", it was definitely moving. Nor did the police "Cut him off", as stated in Time magazine. Smith himself says: "There was no resistance on my part. That was a cover story by the police. They caved in my ribs, busted a hernia and put a hole in my head." This is ridiculous, since the official medical report from Beth Israel Hospital states only that he was treated for a cracked rib. Furthermore the police have no influence over what is written into a medical report. In fact, if

the doctors writing the report were to have sympathized with anyone, it would most likely have been with John Smith. Smith made no complaint of injuries, nor did he even request to be taken to a hospital until he was egged on by "respected" civil-rights leaders.

This "police brutality" incident, therefore, was no more than the forcible bringing in of a criminal who resisted arrest.

According to Charles M. Zizza, Captain of the 4th Police Precinct, there are many things that "smack of conspiracy" in the Newark riot. For instance, there is a parking lot directly across from the front of the precinct where the residents of the Hayes Projects park their cars. On any given day, the lot is crowded with vehicles, but on the day when the precinct was stoned, the only cars in the lot were those of police officers. Also, Oliver Lofton, administrator of the Newark Legal Services Project, when speaking on the steps of the 4th Precinct, stated, "We will get him (Smith) the best legal services that money can buy. Now you people do what you have to, and if you get arrested we will get you the best legal protection money can buy." That night fifteen to twenty stores were looted on Belmont Avenue, the first being a liquor store.

At ten o'clock on Thursday night there were wild masses of people running through the streets and looting stores. However, there were no police on the street. Captain Zizza, who had just returned from the shore and was being driven to the precinct in an unmarked car, saw four men breaking a window and climbing into the snow case. They then began to remove the clothing from the mannequins. The captain told the officer who was driving the car to stop and immediately the four looters started to run. Three were apprehended and the other, having been shot by the captain,

slipped silently away into the night. Meanwhile, a crowd of hecklers assembled and began stoning the policemen. This was the first arrest and shooting incident of the riot. When they arrived at the precinct, all the high brass had been gathered there. Poverty Program officials had gotten into a heated argument with Director Spina, who himself was hit by three rocks. Up to this time, very little had been done to quell the riot, because it was thought that it could be contained and burn itself out. Captain Zizza then took six officers and a sergeant and six shot guns and went to Springfield Avenue. By a show of strength, they forced the crowds up towards Hunterdon Street. All during this time they were being bombarded with missiles. Then, Captain Zizza, starting at Seventh Street and using a loud speaker, closed down all the taverns and restaurants. At eleven o'clock more men were sent into the riot area and they tried to contain it. Their efforts were in vain and it began to spread over into the Fifth Precinct.

Contrary to the popular opinion, there was never an order not to use weapons. According to Director Spina, "We expect that an officer knows enough when to use his weapon." At approximately 11:35 that night, after a policeman had been hit with a brick and seriously injured, Captain Zizza gave the order "to use their weapons in defense of their lives or the lives of the citizens."

It is known that there were "leaders" in the riot. Cars would drive up to shopping areas, Negro men would get out and point to a certain store. The masses, which prior to this had been just milling about, would follow their advice and loot that particular store. Also, a truck was seen driving along Springfield Avenue which would hook a chain onto the protective gratings of some stores and rip them off. This truck never stopped to pick up loot but continued only removing these gratings.

The snipers according to most officials were only a diversionary tactics. As soon as a car which was pinned down under sniper fire signaled for help, about ten other cars would respond. This would leave the place from which the other cars left free and clear for looters. And just as quickly as help arrived the sniper fire ceased. Already eight snipers have been arrested. In one particular case, a policeman was accused of shooting a Negro woman. Later, due to the testimony of a young Negro girl, it was discovered that a Negro sniper killed the woman. In many cases, there were no actual witnesses to the sniping but sufficient evidence was later produced.

No doubt, you have seen the picture on the cover of Life magazine of the boy lying in the street. Life magazine did not show the original picture in its entirety nor did she tell the complete story. The original picture shows a police ambulance ready to receive the wounded boy. Also, after the boy had been shot, he reached out his hand to a nearby policeman and asked him not to leave him alone. That policeman held that boy in his arms for twenty five minutes. Due to this fact Director Spina cancelled his subscription to Life.

Concerning the cases of police brutality, there were far more incidents of violence against the police than there were on their part. Officer Guden, a Negro policeman, of the Fifth Precinct, had his whole left arm blown off by a sniper. Of course, Detective Toto was killed by a sniper firing from the Scudder Homes. There is a story that was being circulated about the "murder" James Rutledge, a nineteen year old Negro. On the back of a leaflet which carries a picture of his body after the post mortem. It states that he was "brutally mutilated" and "shot thirty nine times by the police. It also states that he had his hands up.

The true story behind this is completely different. There had been a report that a tavern on Bergen Street was being looted. Immediately some Newark and State Police arrived along with some Guardsmen. He was cornered behind the bar. As he was about to come from behind it, he picked up a soda bottle and threw it blindly at the men. Naturally they let loose with a volley of shots. He was not actually shot thirty nine times but the wounds occurred from the pellets of a few shot gun bullets. The picture of the body was taken in Perry's Funeral Parlor. Pictures taken of bodies after autopsies with the stitches opened up are against the law. Sympathizers would have us believe that the shooting caused mutilation which is actually the autopsy openings.

Dean Heckel of Rutgers University stated in a speech that a Negro was being chased through a hospital by a Guardsman. Then the Guardsman caught up with him, he thrust the rifle end into the Negro's mouth and shot off his head. Later he found out that this was a lie. The following is a copy of the letter of November 27, 1967 sent to the Essex County Prosecutor.

Dear Brendan:

What I thought was an unimpeachable authority for the statement I made in my Montclair speech proves not to have been so. It seems that the event I alluded to, did not occur.

I regret my action, and I have learned a lesson from it.

Sincerely yours,

Willard Heckel
Dean

There are many other of these so called police brutalities that are no more than mere myths, but I will not go into them now. According to Mayor Addonizio "the police did an outstanding job and to make a blanket charge of police brutality against the police is very unfair." In my opinion, without the police Newark would

have completely crumpled under the rioting. The police being the only lawful order in the city did the best to contain this riot that they possibly could. The lawful citizens of Newark owe much to the Newark Police Department and the Fire Department as well.

New Chapter
The Newark Fire Department

8.

The following are a few statistics taken directly from files at the Headquarters of the Newark Fire Dept.

From July 13, 6P.M. to July 14, 6P.M. there were:

122 fires
22 false alarms
22 non-fire emergencies
166 total alarms

From July 14, 6P.M. to July 15, 6P.M. there were:

71 fires
19 false alarms
6 non-fire emergencies
96 total alarms

From July 15, 6P.M. to July 16, 6P.M. there were:

34 fires
9 false alarms
16 non-fire emergencies
59 total alarms

From July 16, 6P.M. to July 17, 6P.M. there were:

25 fires
7 false alarms
13 non-fire emergencies
43 total alarms

During the 5 days of rioting, 35 firemen were shot. Also, on the first night, July 13th, there was not one single fire engine left in the station houses. The situation became so critical that the fire departments of 5 different communities had to be called in, and still there was a great need for more men and engines.

A few weeks prior to the riot, a couple of inflammatory leaflets* were distributed throughout "ghetto areas" of the city.

*Copies of these are reprinted at the end of this section.

These leaflets gave instructions on how to make "molotov cocktails". It has been asserted by the investigation being conducted by The Riot Study and Investigation Commission of the New Jersey Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, that these leaflets were printed up in Area Board 2 of the U.C.C. It was also alleged that as early as 18 months prior to the riot, there was a "school" set up in the city for the purpose of teaching persons how to make and use these fire bombs.

I would now like to narrate the circumstances surrounding the murder of Fire Captain Mike Moran.

On Saturday, July 15th at 10:15 P.M. , an A.D.T. sprinkler alarm at 500 Central Ave. was set off and began to ring at Fire Hdqts. It appears that a bullet or bullets fired from a car travelling west on Central Ave. pierced the sprinkler pipes and set off the alarm. The car, which had N.Y. plates, was stopped and its occupants chased. Immediately, Engines 7 and 11 responded and arrived at the scene. In order to get into the building to turn off the alarm they thought it best to break a window on the second floor. As soon as the ladder was lifted and the window broken a terrible wave of sniping began. Those present, including Director Caulfield, Captain Moran, Firemen Knispel, Smith, and Brown and some National Guardsmen, took cover. Moran persisted in trying to climb the ladder but he was hit by a sniper's bullet. Moran told Director Caulfield that he was hit and first aid was administered by Peter McGrath. At the same time National Guardsman Elwood Allston received a flesh wound. Because of Moran's serious condition, he was rushed to Presbyterian Hospital which was two and a half blocks away. The Director asked a priest to be sent there also. Moran died on the operating table that night.

STOP!

POLICE BRUTALITY
COME OUT AND JOIN
US AT THE

MASS RALLY

TONITE 7:30.P.M.

4Th PRECINCT

LOCATED ON 17TH AVE + LIVINGSTON ST.

I'M TOO PROUD TO BEG

FOR MY FREEDOM!

I'M NOT AFRAID TO FIGHT FOR IT!
BLACK MEN ARE YOU READY?

① FILL WINE BOTTLE WITH GASOLINE

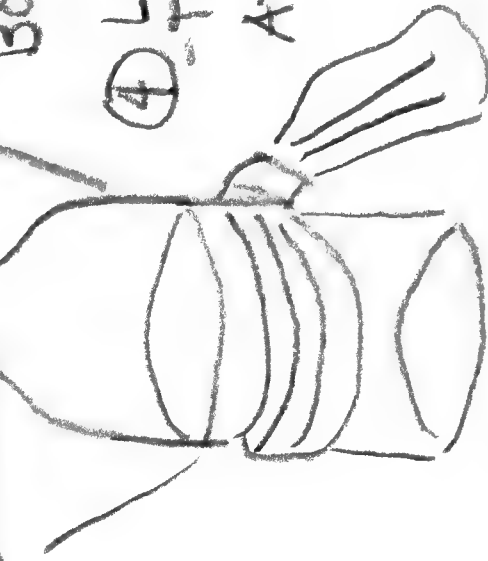
② REPLACE CAP (TIGHTLY)

③ TIE GAS-SOAKED RAG AROUND BOTTLE.

④ LIGHT RAG - THROW BOTTLE AT WHITEY!

WHITE "CITIZENS" ARE ARMING THEMSELVES!

BLACK MEN
PREPARE TO
DEFEND YOURSELVES!



TO MAKE A "MOLOTOV COCKTAIL"

Wine bottle; 5th size is cool

Put gasoline (syphon from cars, let the pump drip in gas stations, after closing, but get gasoline, etc., a combustible fluid in bottle. Cap bottle. Get piece of cloth as wick-fuse ...wrap it around bottle, soaking it with gasoline also.

Light rag, and throw at some white person or some white person's property.



PART
TWO

CAUSES OF
THE RIOT

NEWARK ADMINISTRATION

In the weeks surrounding the Newark riots there was much debate as to the role and performance of the Newark Administration. ^{prior to the outbreak of violence} Mayor Addonizio and his administration have come into severe criticism from such various sources as the Rabbi of Temple B'nai Abraham, to the Chairman of Negro Affairs for the American Communist Party, on such various topics as poor housing and administration appointments. Much of the criticism is justified-but much is not. This chapter will examine the role, performance and criticisms of the mayor and his administration both before and during the Newark riots. ^{in general} In succeeding chapters, greater detail will be given to specific questions raised here.

Newark in the summer of 1967 became a bloody battleground of looting and sniping. The riots have been blamed on many different sources from anti-poverty programs to administration appointments. There is no doubt however, that certain actions of the Newark Administration helped to cause the Newark riots.

~~James T.~~ Callaghan Appointment

One of these actions was the appointment of James T. Callaghan to the post of Secretary of the Board of Education by Mayor Addonizio. The controversy that occurred over this appointment was caused by many people both Negro and white who felt that Wilbur Parker a highly qualified Negro should have received the appointment instead of Callaghan.

This issue was brought to the forefront as a cause of the riot partially through some of the following statements. Albert Black, head of the Newark Human Rights Commission has pointed out that the immediate

catalyst, which "even the most ignorant Negro could understand" was the debate occurring when the Mayor attempted to appoint councilman Callaghan as Secretary of the Board of Education over a highly qualified Negro Wilbur Parker. "We had been warning the mayor about this issue but until the protest he wasn't listening. We told him he couldn't sweep it under the rug." William H. Booth, chairman of the New York City Commission on Human Rights blamed the mayor for aiding to arouse the racial violence that occurred in Newark; he said, "The recent effort of the mayor to appoint an unqualified white man over an exceptionally qualified Negro to a post on the Board of Education in the face of a unified demand from the Negro Community is certainly a contributing cause."

Mayor Addonizio however, defended his position on the appointment. He said, "Wilbur Parker works for the city because I brought him here. We are good personal friends. I tried to make him finance director but at that time I received no support from civil rights leaders in the community. My support in the school board secretary matter was given to another individual and he was qualified. My administration has placed many Negroes in important positions in the school system." He further stated that, "the issue was used by political opportunists to twist the issues and arouse the community."

New Jersey College of Medicine and Dentistry

Add Separate Ref

Another action of the Newark Administration which helped to stir unrest and provoke the Newark riots was an urban renewal program whereby over one hundred acres of Newark's Central Ward were designated for the new campus of the New Jersey State College of Medicine and Dentistry. For this project to be carried out, thirty-five hundred

In addition to this,
Negroes would have to be displaced from their homes. ~~And~~¹ there was
~~also~~ a subsequent proposal to extend two interstate highways that
pass near the city into the downtown area of Newark, a move that would
force more than twenty thousand Negroes out of their homes! It is
easy to see how two projects which, ^{when} combined, would displace more than
twenty-three thousand Negro citizens would cause unrest and ill feel-
ing in the Negro community.

Speaking on this issue Mayor Addonizio stated that "It was always
my opinion the medical center could be limited to twenty or thirty
acres but the trustees of the school said they needed one hundred fifty
acres and we had to go along." The mayor, however, made no indication
as to why "we" had to go along. In a recent interview the mayor stat-
ed that he believed the medical center to be a fine addition to the
City of Newark. He also stated that at the present time the admini-
stration is trying to limit the center to fifty seven acres.

Mayor Addonizio felt that "the deep rooted and honest " problems
of the City were " fueled " to the boiling point by "a rash of wild
and extremist statements" over two recent local controversies. However,
the mayor's sharpest words on both the Callaghan appointment and the
Medical School issue came at a July 18, 1967 press conference. Dur-
ing this conference he severely criticized anyone who had been predicting
civil disorder if the administration pressed for the appointment of
James T. Callaghan to Secretary of the Board of Education, and if the
administration continued with its plans for New Jersey College of
Medicine and Dentistry. He especially criticized Harry Wheeler, a New-
ark school teacher who he quoted from a public hearing record as say-
ing "the Callaghan appointment is going to be the catalyst for blood-
running in the streets of Newark like there has never been anywhere

'else in America." It seemed to be the mayor's view that it was these men who expressed their opinions on these issues helped cause the riots rather than the issues themselves.

The Administration vs. the U.C.C.

While everyone else was blaming the Newark Administration for causing the riots, the Newark Administration was blaming the U.C.C., an antipoverty organization operating in Newark. Councilman Frank Addonizio and Lee Bernstein stated that the U.C.C. was "the major cause of unrest in the city." Mayor Addonizio stated that while he fully supported antipoverty organizations ("I don't condone the action of certain officials in the antipoverty program. My feeling is that certain actions by some people in that agency (U.C.C.) contributed to the riot.")

The most direct action against the U.C.C. however, was taken by Police Director Dominick Spina, who seven weeks before the riot warned in a telegram to the federal government that agitation by the United Community Corp "would undoubtedly lead to riots and anarchy in our city." This telegram was sent to Sargeant Shriver head of the Organization for Equal Opportunity (OEO). One of Spina's charges of agitation on the part of the U.C.C. was that the ~~U.C.C.~~^{U.C.C.} had rented a car which it used to arouse ill feeling toward the Planning Board and the Board of Education. Another charge was that some members of the U.C.C. had been threatened with loss of their jobs if they did not picket and demonstrate against the city.

However, the O.E.O. headquarters sent back a reply that they had no evidence that the car in question had been used as a platform

for agitation.

When Mayor Addonizio was asked if he approved of the telegram he said "No I don't approve and.... I will remind him there is only one mayor in Newark."

Speaking on the U.C.C. situation Rabbi Jonathan Prinz of Temple B'nai Abraham said "it is in bad taste and inconsistent with the facts" for the Newark Administration to blame the U.C.C. antinoverty agency for causing the riots. He also stated the mayor should be "a states- and not a name caller" and ("One would think that Mayor Addonizio would now be taking the initiative in uniting a badly divided city and comforting its frightened citizens rather than using this opportunity to shift the blame.")

^{James} Judge Del Mauro, Chief Magistrate of Newark, ^{stated} in a private interview ~~stated~~ that it was wrong to blame the mayor for failing to control the U.C.C., since it is a federal organization ~~and~~ not under the ^{city's} ~~city's~~ control. When the judge was asked if any members of the U.C.C. had been brought to court, he said that several members had been indicted.

Newark's Real Problems and the Real Causes of the Riot

The roots of the Newark riots lie in long standing problems of Newark's Negro Community; poor housing, inadequate schooling, run down condition of public schools and discrimination. Even Mayor Addonizio has admitted ("What we have witnessed in Newark in these terrible days had many causes. Many of them honest and deeprooted such as needs in housing, education, jobs and from years of discrim-

ination and the bigotry of generations."

Several Civil Rights leaders felt the same way as the mayor but felt that the mayor and his administration had done little or nothing to cure these problems. Three civil rights leaders at a press conference on July 17, 1967 had several comments on the problems, as did other personages.

James Hooper, chairman of Newark Core felt that the riot had been building up for many years and blamed the causes on discrimination in government jobs, poor housing, the medical center, and Board of Education, and the lack of adequate schooling. He said, "We've pleaded with the Mayor, the Governor and Washington but nothing has been done. The Governor told us to talk to the mayor who in turn said everything is under control and if you don't like what I'm doing wait until 1970 and elect me out. But we can't wait." Hooper also said that, "The mayor's so called committee of Negro leaders is worthless. Most of them have little community work in their background and the people have little respect for them."

Jesse Allen, an organizer at U.C.C. Board No. ^{Three}, said "I work with these people everyday. I know their problems. Every day two hundred to three hundred youngsters come crying for jobs. They have no money and nothing to do. Their parents are making poor wages and can barely provide clothing for them. Many are barely existing on welfare. For two years we asked for more recreation facilities but got nothing. The cops come around and tell the kids to move but there is no where to move."

Philip Hutchins of S.N.C.C. charged that ~~it was the city's failure to~~ ^{the commission the kids were put}

the city ignored

enforce its housing code by not providing adequate low cost housing, *that* the county welfare program ~~is~~ *dear* ~~and~~ *is* its recipients and Newark's educational facilities ~~that~~ *used* the riots. *was* ~~wholly inadequate~~ *that* ~~was~~ *wholly inadequate*.

An article in the July 15, 1967, Newark News claimed that it was also the mayor's opposition to a civilian review board and his failure to take action against police lawlessness that lead to events causing the riots.

At a press conference in the offices of The Worker, William Patterson chairman of the Negro Affairs Commission of the American Communist Party said, "There is not a black man in Newark who has a voice in policy making even though they constitute the majority. Newark has become the most vicious expression of government policy for the Negro citizens. The lines of what is happening lie directly with Hughes and Addonizio. "

On the plus side, however, Newark spends \$277 per capita on urban renewal, the highest annual figure in the ~~U.S.~~ *United States* fifty largest cities. Since Mayor Addonizio was first elected, the unemployment rate has dropped from 14% to 7% and \$2,000,000 ~~was~~ *has been* spent by 125 federal poverty workers in Newark.

But even the mayor admits that there is still much to be done along these lines. He feels that Newark needs more money to build more houses and better schools. In a recent interview the mayor said that, "We do the best job we can with limited personnel. We try to concentrate on fringe areas that are beginning to become slums." He further stated however, that there is a vicious circle because as the slums are improved the rents are raised and the people can't af-

ford them. The mayor seemed to feel that rent control would solve this problem.

Conclusion

In conclusion it can be said that no one action or person can be blamed for the Newark riots. This chapter has presented the views of several persons on Newark and its Administration. It would be wrong to say that the Newark Administration was the ~~major~~ or only cause of the Newark riots but it would be equally as wrong to say that the Newark Administration was not a factor or did not play a large role in the riots and their causes. ~~But~~ ^{However} the best concluding statement might be that of Mayor Addonizio when ~~said~~ ^{stated} as to role of the mayor in a riot he answered " to bring about the peace as quickly as possible." It is up to each individual to decide for himself just how well the mayor and his administration lived up to this statement *of intent.*

Chapter One

The Newark Administration

Interviewed

~~Honorable~~
Hon.

Hugh J. Aldridge
James R. Wayne

Mayor, City of Newark
Chief Magistrate, City of Newark

Mid-spring, 1967 --- Newark's mayor, Hugh J. Addonizio, announces his nomination of Councilman James T. Callaghan for Secretary of the Board of Education. With this announcement began a violent controversy, replete with racial overtones, which would spread discontent and ill-will throughout the Negro community. My purpose here, is to examine the issue itself, and come to a realistic evaluation as to the impact it actually had on the Negro community at large, and as to whether or not it served as an underlying cause of the summer's ensuing violence.

Mayor Addonizio chose to appoint Mr. Callaghan because he felt that the man best qualified to fill a post should be the one to fill it. The problem which was to develop centered around the issues of qualifications, and ^{unfortunately} ~~to an~~ extent, ~~perhaps a very great one~~ -- race. It seemed reasonably clear that Mr. Callaghan would have the support of six of the nine members of the Board of Education, and it seems that he would have been chosen had it not been for the violent opposition raised by certain civil rights leaders and sections of the Negro community.

The person around whom this dispute revolved was Wilbur Parker, ^{the Negro} budget director of the city of Newark, ~~and a Negro~~. Mr. Parker was valedictorian of his grammar school, and of South Side High School. He received his bachelor's degree in economics from Cornell University, and his master's in business administration from the Cornell Graduate School. In 1954, he became the first Negro certified public accountant

in the city, and is ^{presently} the only Negro budget officer of any major city in the United States. Mr. Callaghan graduated from St. Joseph's High School in Alabama, and presently serves both as Councilman-at-large from the city of Newark, and deputy purchasing agent for Essex County. Both men are eminently qualified for the offices that they hold, and ^{yet, surprisingly} it is largely because of a dispute on 'qualifications' that this problem emerged.

"We rely heavily on the secretary for information and judgment," said one member of the Board; "After all, the board members change all the time, but the secretary holds the job continuously, for decades sometimes." The role of secretary of the Newark Board of Education is an awesome one. He is the chief financial officer, supervisor of the school auditor and budget analyst. He must deal with all matters that come before the school board for he is the one who receives all requests, makes out the agenda, etc. He often receives assignments from members of the Board, and serves to link the Department of Education with other sections of government. In short, he must serve as a veritable expert on all school business and financial policy.

Yet, when one looks at the necessary qualifications for secretary, the incongruity of the situation becomes apparent. The school auditor, an underling of the secretary, must be a college graduate with special courses in auditing and accounting; the budget analyst, also an underling, must have four years of college or university training, with a major in accounting; the assistant secretary must have a

high school diploma with college courses in advanced bookkeeping and accounting; and the secretary? - - he must be able to read and write!

Despite this ^{ludicrous} 'requirement' which at the very best could be called 'loose', Mayor Addonizio, knowing both men well (he chose Mr. Parker to be his budget director and a member of his cabinet, and Mr. Callaghan was associated with him as a member of the Council) felt that Mr. Callaghan was the man most qualified to fulfill the post. Mr. Callaghan summarized his own qualifications in this way:†

- 1) Teacher of labor relations and civil rights for seven years at St. Peter's College;
- 2) Treasurer of an IUE-AFL-CIO union with a membership of eighty thousand;
- 3) Led fight to oust Communist unions from AFL-CIO;
- 4) Assisted in budget hearings for seven years in Essex County;
- 5) Eight years on Newark Board of School Estimate which acted on all school appropriations; (N.B.)
- 6) Office manager and deputy purchasing agent for Essex County for over seven years;
- 7) Instituted "line-item" budgeting for first time in Newark's history in 1954 (i.e. the format used for the budget)

These assets seemed to the Mayor and many other people (including the Newark City Council which assented to Callaghan's nomination) to sufficiently outweigh Mr. Callaghan's lack of a college diploma (~~he is merely a high school graduate~~). How-

ever, the fact that Mr. Parker did have a considerably greater formal education(a bachelor's and a master's degree) coupled with the fact that most ^{such} other disparities are ^{usually} settled on the basis of educational criteria, did provide ~~for~~ for his supporters a rather cogent argument. (Among his supporters was included the Newark News which announced on May 25, 1967, that it was urging the Board to forget Mr. Callaghan and choose Mr. Parker because "(by education and experience) Mr. Parker has a superior claim to be board secretary").

In this same editorial, the question of Mr. Callaghan being a 'machine politician' was also raised.

However, it seems that since both men are Democrats, connected with the Addonizio administration in some way, this argument seems to ~~fail flat~~. *(Mr. Callaghan actually supported Joe P. Addonizio in his unsuccessful re-election in 1962 when he was beaten by the then-congressman Hugh J. Addonizio)*

The dispute, then, ~~again~~ ^{regrettably} can really be limited to qualifications and, unfortunately, race. Mr. Parker undoubtedly had the support of many organized civic, civil right, and church groups, as well as the qualified support of the Newark Teachers' Union, but, as Mr. Donald Madafronte ² put it: " How do you charge a mayor with ignoring the qualifications of his own cabinet member? " The mayor ^{appointed} chose the person whom he considered most qualified to fill the position. He knew both men well- their abilities and aptitudes- and chose Mr. Callaghan . This recommendation was made in conjunction with the City Council before Mr. Parker ever made it known that he would even like the position! Both men had their

own impressive assets. . . Perhaps the very question of 'qualifications' should not have been raised at all.

The opponents of Mr. Callaghan were a vocal, angry group, composed of white liberals, the Business and Industry Community Council, ^{and} various other ~~groups~~ ^{including} even a 'Peoples' Board of Education.' - ^R Representatives of this group ^S appeared at the meetings of May 23 and June 26 and conducted themselves in a ~~rather~~ violent manner. At the first meeting, there was a 'noisy filibuster' conducted by about three hundred demonstrators. The transcript was torn up, a tape recorder was smashed and racial tension ran high. Said Mr. Alan Krim, a member of the school board, ⁴ "If any action would have been taken, we would have had a riot on our hands." The uproar effectively blocked Mr. Callaghan's appointment at this time, and the next day about one hundred people picketed City Hall. Later, perhaps to soften the blow of the expected appointment, it was announced (New York Times, June 25, 1967) that the School Board would name several Negroes as assistant superintendents or other high school administrative posts. A "Peoples' Board of Education" worked to block Mr. Callaghan and spoke against the city administration, the school board, and white oppression. Finally, on June 27 Arnold M. Hess, the present secretary, announced he would remain on the job for at least another year, ending the substance of the dispute, and subsequently the Board refused

⁴ New York Times, May 24, 1967

³ The representatives at the meetings were mainly Negroes connected with some civil rights organization. There were about three hundred present on the twenty-third.

by a five to three vote to adopt a proposal to establish qualifications for the secretary's post⁵

The incident unfortunately stirred up considerable racial tension, an issue which most feel should never had been interjected in the dispute. There was a well-organized opposition which, perhaps in frustration as well as displeasure, had fought to disrupt to express their dissent. An additional motive for such action revolved around the fact that it would be impossible for Mr. Callaghan to obtain the necessary tenure in the event a new mayor takes office in 1970 if they could force deferrment of his approval until after July 1. Their tactics seemed to many unfair-based on color rather than contribution-with strategies formulated solely along racial lines.

Negro resentment seemed based on the symbolism of the situation as well as on the individuals involved. A Concerned Citizen Committee declared that the attempted appointment was "an affront to the entire population of Newark, particularly the non-whites." Mr. James Hooper⁶ pointed out that a classic line of reasoning is: go out, get yourself qualified and then come back to better positions. ~~Many~~ ^{however} Negroes seem to have grown to point to this incident as an example of its denial. Mr. Parker, ^{the eminently successful brother} ~~however~~ is a living example of where this reasoning has held, and there are ^{now} more Negroes

⁵ Newark Star-Ledger June 29, 1967

⁶ Newark head of the Congress of Racial Equality

in Newark city government than ever before. The dissatisfaction and displeasure in the Negro community was apparently a very real thing. Said Mr. Hooper on May 23: "If Mr. Callaghan is elected board secretary, we got troubles here in Newark." This brings me to my final point, the effect this incident may have had in contributing to the later violence.

There were many premonitions of violence at the hearings on the appointment. The Newark Evening News of June 27 pointed out: "Many of the Negro civil rights speakers who favor the appointment of Wilbur Parker, a Negro, predicted dire things would happen if Callaghan was named to the post at tonight's meeting. And Mr. Robert Curvin, former head of the Newark-Essex chapter of CORE stated (the throng) didn't come here to riot, but to see justice. But if we can't see justice in this city, then damn it we're ready." If violence had broken out ^{spontaneously} at this time, it would probably have been the result of displeasure over the turn of events, but it was deep-rooted problems rather than any one sensational incident that caused the summer riot. Some feel that a few self-appointed leaders tried to drum up discontent and it was only the deliberately generated reaction that was any factor. This may very well be so, but it appears that discontent was fostered by this incident - though not great enough in itself to lead to violence.

A source of ^{substantial} displeasure--yes. A ^{prominent} ~~substantial~~ ^{singular} contributing source of violence---- NO !

Chapter Two
The Callaghan Apartment

How much of a part did the controversy over the planned Medical Center play in the riots of '67? The main point was that in trying to secure Federal funds for the land for the new home of the New Jersey College of Dentistry and Medicine, HUD (Housing and Urban Department) had told City Officials that they would have to defer other projects in the then planning stage if they wanted to move full speed ahead on the Medical School. These projects included the second stage of the Essex Heights project, a little west of the County Courthouse, a light industrial project in the Central Ward, an urban renewal project adjacent to the planned new home of St. Michaels Hospital and part of the meadowlands redevelopment project.

Therefore, it is evident that the projects intended to be ignored were of such a kind that the seed's of discontent could have definitely been sown on account of the Center.

Louis Danzig, Executive Director of the Newark Housing Authority, said "We do not intend to give up easily funds already earmarked for Newark."

HUD officials expressed their views in letter to Mayor Addonizio:

"The City must not slow down on its Old Third Ward Project, now two-thirds complete, in order to give priority to the Medical School".

"The City must demonstrate that it is capable of simultaneously re-locating families on the Medical School site and on other urban renewal projects, such as the Old Third Ward."

The City Council earlier had given Mayor Addonizio broad authorization for his plans to raise fifteen million dollars for acquisition and clearance.

The six financing methods were.

1. A direct grant from the state
2. A move to have the College site declared a blighted area by the Federal Government as a first step toward a U.S. Urban

Renewal Grant.

3. A Federal Grant under the Demonstration Cities Program.
4. An Act by the Legislature that would permit Newark to double its borrowing power, clearing the way for a bond issue.
5. A Legislative exemption that would enable Newark to float an additional fifteen million dollars in bonds for this purpose only.
6. Direct expenditure from the City Treasury.

The NAACP entered into the controversy over the Medical School, but it did so gradually and orderly. It held a forum on the school before taking any stand on the proposed location of the school.

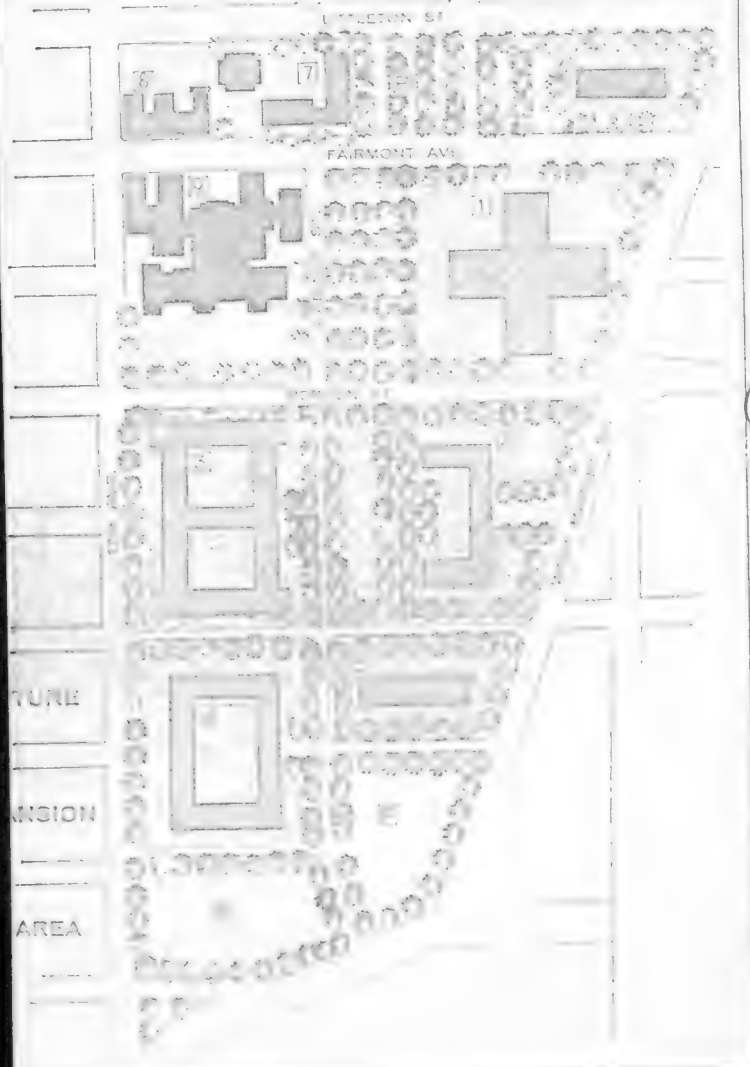
Miss Sally G. Carroll, NAACP president, said the members agreed not to take a stand until exploring all the pros and cons of building the new college on a fifty acre site southeast of City Hospital.

A new group to fight the school came into being, "The Committee Against Negro Removal". This was the first sign of organized opposition to location of the college southeast of City Hospital. Mrs. Louise Apperson, chairman of the new group, said "We're not opposed to the school coming to Newark, but there must be other areas beside residential areas to put it in". Mrs. Apperson also said that the college should consider sites that are already vacant and should not try to consume a large amount of land in the heart of the City.

The only opposition did not come from Negroes. Newark set out to provide fifty acres of land to be used for the building of the college amid charges by Mayor Addonizio that the Board of Trustees was acting in an arbitrary and high handed manor in selecting the site location. As expected the site picked by the committee was a forty six acre plot of land lying southeast of Newark City Hospital, none of it in Federal Urban Renewal Area. The Mayor preferred to have the committee accept the Fairmount

HIGHLY DESIRABLE MED SCHOOL SITE'

NEWARK LIBRARY



Project which was already slated for Urban Renewal, sponsored by the government. Thus instead of fifteen million dollars being spent by the city it would cost only about five million dollars. It would also mean no new housing facilities in the area under federal aid. It would also mean Newark would lose between four and five million dollars in ~~ratables~~ ^{ratables}, making the whole project a political football.

Inset of map on preferred Fairmount Ave

How will the residents themselves be affected by all this malarky?

Most of the area's residents are Negroes, with a small scattering of whites who stubbornly refuse to leave the homes in which they grew up.

The rectangular-shaped area of twenty five blocks is referred to as "non-conforming" by the zoning board. What it actually means is that the section is both residential and business in nature, with generally low ratables from well-kept homes to outright slums. The street within the boundaries that would appear under the Medical Center's modern facilities are Cabinet, Hunterdon, Bruce, Newton, Wallace and Rutgers Streets and Morris, 12th and 13th Avenues. The old and outdated Bruce Street School would be destroyed and so would the ugly rows of abandoned ^{on} and gutted buildings in Rutgers Street.

Generally home owners in the area are looking forward to getting a fair price for their property and moving to a nicer neighborhood.

The owners of the few light industrial companies which dot the neighborhood reflect a tolerant attitude toward the inevitability of the Medical Center and concern about the speed with which they will have to seek new quarters.

But the people for whom relocation means the greatest hardships are the small business-men and the tenants of the two and three story frame homes in the section.

The city already has begun to acquire some of the properties in the Fairmount Urban Renewal Project area.

The Committee Against Negro Removal again charged that the city had acted fraudulently in moving to acquire forty-five acres of land for the College of Medicine and Dentistry. Mrs. Louise Esperson, chairwoman, said that representatives of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and the Office of Economic Opportunity told her that the clearing of the tract now occupied mainly by homes and small business is not being carried out through Urban Renewal. The group circulated leaflets to the twenty two thousand inhabitants of the tract, urging them not to sell to the city because: "The city will not be responsible for you and the city will not provide decent housing for you and your family." The group added that there is an understanding with HUD that the city could recoup its' money through future Urban Renewal Projects. The city denied this.

Pros and Cons of the Controversy Benefits of Medical Center

According to Dr. C. Richard Weinberg, the New Jersey College of Medicine and Dentistry would bring "tremendous benefits" in health care to Newark. The benefits would grow from "immediate availability of the latest and the best" medical equipment.

There are no ifs, ands, or buts," he continued, "with the Medical School here, the indigent residents of the city would get the very best of medical care."

Mayor Addonizio said that the Medical School would generate about fifteen million dollars in new jobs based on surveys made on medical schools of comparative size. The Mayor stated; "If we didn't think that

the medical school would be an asset we wouldn't press for it."

The fifty-five member Executive Board of the N.J. State Industrial Union Council AFL-CIO commended trustees of the N.J. College of Medicine and Dentistry for their "wise decision to locate the permanent home of the state supported school in Newark." The resolution went on to urge the city to assure adequate housing to those tenants who would be relocated or whose property would be taken by condemnation to provide site for the institution.

The Advocate, weekly newspaper of the Archdiocese of Newark, also urged the Medical School to re-locate in the city. It said in its editorial, "Sick in need of care, resources for research and a community to serve; these are the teaching tools of the contemporary College of Medicine and Dentistry. Because Newark provides all three, we call the N.J. State College of Medicine and Dentistry to come to Newark."

Governor Hughes expressed satisfaction with the decision of the Board of Trustees of Medical School to approve Newark as the permanent location for the school. "I am very pleased to learn of this by the Medical School's Board of Trustees, for it serves the best interests of the people of Newark and the entire state" he said.

Albert W. Merck, chairman of the executive committee of the Regional Plan Association's New Jersey Committee, had strongly endorsed a site in an urban area. "As far as regional plan is concerned, we welcome the decision and hope that the plans can come to fruition and that the effects of having such a region-shaping force located in a central urban area will be a magnetizing influence in the continued revitalization of the city center."

CRITICISM OF PROPOSED PLAN

The value of a Medical School in Newark came under heavy criticism by a group of speakers who questioned the benefits such an institution would

bring to the City of Newark compared to the impact it would have on the city's tax rate.

Some one hundred people attended a night hearing scheduled by Mayor Addonizio and the City Administration. The Medical School became the major issue as groups showed concern over the loss of ratables and displacement of the thousands of families and the increase in taxes on the present business. in the proposed Medical School site.

The Mayor made it known ^{that} the Philadelphia Regional Office of the Dept. of Housing and Urban Development, had submitted an agreement to re-imburse the city for the estimated fifteen million dollars it will need to acquire the land for the school.

The Medical School issue was used by the speakers at this meeting to hammer home their protest against the rising tax rate in Newark. They estimated the tax rate at this point would jump from \$5.97 per \$100.00 of assessed valuation to somewhere in the neighborhood of \$7.25 per \$100.00.

Addonizio's attempt to bring the state Medical School to the Central Ward ^{were construed as a revelation of} ~~revealed~~ his effort to disarm Negro strength. Already [?] declared for the 1969 Governor's race, Addonizio would be able to build support throughout Northern Jersey by getting the school for Newark. Perhaps just as important was the school's ability to drive black voters from the fifty acre site amid the ghetto. It would drive some blacks from the city, disrupt voter-residency requirements for others and let the ward boundaries be gerrymandered.

Thus the scene was set, the tension mounted, and the Medical Center dispute along with many other grievances made Newark a wood pile, tinder dry. Finally in early summer, 1967, that pile burst into flames.

A WHO'S WHO OF NEWARK MEDICAL SCHOOL BACKERS

Among the organizations and individuals supporting the location of

 N.J. Medical And Dental College in Newark are:

*alphabetized
from*

- 1) N.J. Committee Regional Plan Association
- 2) N.J. Public Health Association
- 3) N.J. Chapter American Academy of Pediatrics
- 4) Upper N.J. Chapter National, Multiple Sclerosis Society
- 5) N.J. Society of Podiatry
- 6) N.J. Industrial Union Council, AFL-CIO
- 7) Independent Union of New Jersey
- 8) Seton Hall University
- 9) Newark College of Engineering
- 10) Rutgers University Law School
- 11) Rutgers University Graduate School of Business Administration
- 12) Rutgers University of Nursing
- 13) Archdiocese of Newark
- 14) Essex County Medical Society
- 15) Essex County Dental Society
- 16) Essex County Mental Health Association
- 17) Essex County Chapter Pharmaceutical Society
- 18) Essex County Jewish Community Council
- 19) Essex County Building Construction Trades Council
- 20) Essex County Chapter Frontiers International
- 21) Essex County Tuberculosis League
- 22) Greater Newark Chamber of Commerce
- 23) Greater Newark Council of Churches

- 14) Greater Newark Hospital Development Fund
- 15) Hospital and Health Council of Newark and Vicinity
- 16) Mount Carmel Guild
- 17) Star Ledger
- 18) Newark Evening News
- 19) Newark City Council
- 20) Bloomfield Town Council
- 21) United Hospitals of Newark
- 22) Congressman Peter W. Rodino, Jr.
- 23) Mayor Addonizio, *City of Newark*
- 24) Dr. C. Richard Weinberg, Medical Director Newark City Hospital

Chapter Three
The Medical Center Controversy

As in previous years the summer of 1966 was marked by riots in Negro sections of numerous large cities throughout the country. Violence occurred in such widely separated places as Jersey City, N.J.; Cleveland, ~~Ohio~~; Jacksonville, ~~Florida~~; Omaha, ~~Nebraska~~; Baltimore ~~MD.~~; Minneapolis, ~~Minn.~~; Los Angeles; Atlanta, ~~Georgia~~. A riot in late September in a predominantly Negro section of San Francisco dealt a serious if not decisive setback to California Governor Edmund G. Brown's reelection campaign. Chicago was the scene of 1966's most serious civil rights disorders. Martin Luther King, at a press conference in January, announced that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) would conduct its "first sustained Northern movement" in Chicago in 1966. The city had been chosen, he said, because its slums were "the prototype of those chiefly responsible for the Northern urban race problem." The SCLC's "open city" campaign took the form of a series of marches through all-white neighborhoods of Chicago. Crowds of angry white residents heckled and jeered the Negro marchers on virtually every occasion. Despite extraordinary police protection, the demonstrators were sometimes assaulted by whites. The open-housing marches came to an end on August 26, when civil rights leaders and city officials agreed on a ten-point program to end de facto housing segregation in Chicago. It was reported that King and his associates would consider the agreement a success if each of Chicago's 75 neighborhoods had at least 1% Negro occupancy by April 30, 1967. In July rioting in Chicago's predominantly Negro West Side forced Illinois Governor Otto Kerner to call out

the National Guard to restore order.

White opposition to racially integrated housing was evident at the national as well as local level. Title IV of the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1966, which as originally submitted would have banned racial discrimination in the sale or rental of all housing, was amended as to exempt 60% of the nation's housing from anti-discrimination provisions. That was roughly the scene in 1966: the housing problem - white opposition and Negro resentment; the opposition and resentment which could very possibly have laid the groundworks for the inevitable surge of violence, one of the worst in American domestic history, that plagued Newark, New Jersey the following ~~summer~~ July of 1967. Suddenly, as if *the holocaust of a* overnight, a calm, civilized city was turned into *a menagerie* *no-man's land replete with all the violence and destruction* ~~whose animals had suddenly escaped from the bars imprisoning them~~ *that + up by war* for so long a time. A tranquil town had become a scene of raging fires, massive thefts, and murderings; the streets that only hours before had held the city's bustling traffic were now scenes of death and destruction. Yes, the inevitable riot had struck Newark — but not overnight. The roots for these violent disorders were sown many years before and had just now come to surface. As in the numerous riots of 1966, city housing was a major issue to be considered in the Newark disorders of 1967. And as in every case, there are those good points and those bad points to contend with when dealing with a subject so complex and real as housing. In a *large* city as ~~big~~ and populous as Newark, there are those sections of affluence as well as those areas of poverty; acres of practical, decent housing conditions and acres of slums; *refuge of* satisfaction and

needs of
discontent. Yet we must realize that Newark cannot overcome its problems as easy as ~~they appear~~ ^{we may think}. City government is well aware of its poor housing conditions and ~~also its want of~~ ^{therefore} better ~~and more~~ ^{more and} housing. But all this takes time, planning and money, which for the most part, isn't ~~so~~ ^{at all} easy to ~~come by~~ ^{obtain}.

In the city of Newark, the official housing and redevelopment agency is the Newark Housing Authority (NHA). It has established and operated to this day 14 housing projects, 770 low-rent units for the Elderly at ~~3~~ ^{three} different sites, with an additional two now being developed. These projects now provide clean and decent housing facilities for ten ~~and a half~~ ^{one hundred} thousand people, regardless of race or creed. They are:

Christopher Columbus Homes; Rev. Hayes Homes; Seth Boyden Court; Pennington Court; James Baxter Terrace; Stephen Crane Village; John Hyatt Court; Felix Fuld Court; Joseph Bradley Court; F.D. Roosevelt Homes; Scudder Homes; Otto Kretchmer Homes; Archb. ^{bishop} Walsh Homes; Stella Wright Homes.

Law requires that families of the lowest income and greatest housing need be given preference in renting apartments, and this is exactly the code the N.H.A. pursues. Any Newark family is eligible for a modern apartment in a low-renting housing development if;

- 1) The family is now living in a worn-out or overcrowded house.
- 2) The head of the family is an American citizen and has lived in Newark for one year or longer.
- 3) The total family income is not more than \$65.00 per week for a family of two persons; \$72.00 for three or four persons; \$75.00 for five or six persons; \$80.00 for seven or eight. ()

If you were to occupy an apartment under the N.H.A. you would

pay, as rent, according to whatever you earn, not according to the number of rooms. The generally accepted rule is that you pay 20% of your income as rent.

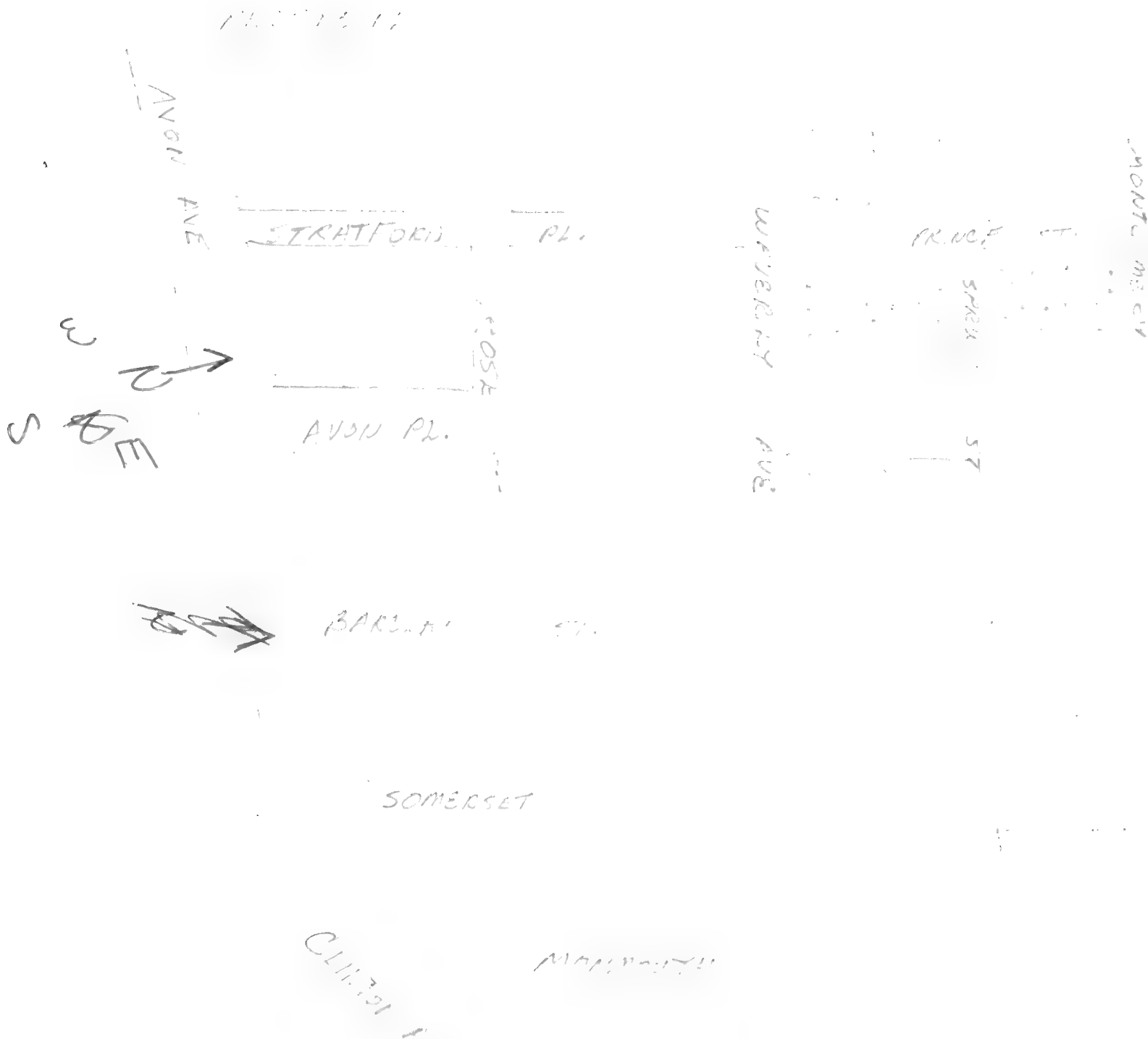
These are the standards and guidelines which the N.H.A. complies with in its selection of residents and in its decisions on the rent applicable to each. I feel they are reasonable and practical ~~and alone~~, serving ~~the~~ justice to the residents of Newark.

Newark enjoys the distinction of having one of the nation's largest redevelopment program in accordance with proportion to population. It has the fifth largest urban renewal program in the country and boasts of its more public housing per capita than anywhere else ~~in the country~~.

By the end of 1966, within months of the fateful riot of July, the Newark Housing Authority had completed one of its most successful and active years in terms of accomplishments and establishments. Of the many issues discussed and problems solved, a few stand out in line as the highlights of 1966:

- 1) The N.H.A. awarded contracts totaling \$12.9 million for the construction of 1,000 units of low-rent housing for the Elderly near the Stephen Crane Village and Baxter Terrace projects.
- * 2) The N.H.A. petitioned the federal government for an additional \$579, 747 grant in the Hill Street urban renewal project.
- 3) The Authority voted to engage Seton Hall University to make an administrative study of the Housing Authority and city agencies involved in urban renewal.

* ~~20~~ The Hill Street Urban Project would involve its extension to include possible rehabilitation work on the Hotel Douglas and the Fatzler Buildings.



Slum Clearance Site - Map shows blighted 16 Block Section of Central Ward proposed by W.H.A. for public housing and redevelopment. Preliminary plans call for 1,206 unit housing project in Dotted 5 Blocks ; 4 blocks of vertical lines indicate new schools or expansion of old ones.

THE SCENE

June 1955

- 4) The authority approved options totaling \$612,800 for the acquisition and clearance of properties in the Old Third Ward, Essex Heights, Fairmount, and St. Michael's Hospital urban renewal projects, voting a parcel of land bounded by Central Ave., James, High and Plane Streets to St. Michael's Hospital for the institution's expansion plans.
- 5) Amended the South Broad Street project to include an extra block bounded by Beecher, Broad W. Kinney and Halsey Streets to make land available for a new Newark Prep School.

These are a few of the major achievements the ~~V.H.A.~~ ^{NHA} has undertaken within the last year prior to the riots. Although not one spectacular movement was planned nor a solution was given to all of Newark's housing problems, progress was indeed made. If we turn our eyes back to November of 1959 we can picture Newark divided into three areas most needing of redevelopment; the Broad Street- Branch Brook Park districts, The Old Third Ward, and the Penn Plaza. In the case of the Broad Street-Branch Brook Park area, 23½ acres have been cleared since, making way for private apartment houses and shopping centers. The Old Third Ward, 70 blocks bounded by High Street on the east, Belmont Ave. on the west, Springfield Ave. on the north and Avon Ave. on the south, is the site of the city's worst remaining slums. ~~Out~~ ^{INSET OF MAP} Out of the then 7,179 dwellings, 17% had no hot water, 7% had no private toilet; 23% no bathing facilities; 50% Heated only by stoves; 70% were substandard. ~~Since~~ ^{NHA} Since Newark was classified as a "Model City" the solution then was to petition the federal government for grants, but as they soon became aware, the government allocates funds for planning and not for building. It is just recently that the ~~V.H.A.~~ ^{NHA} has taken steps to eliminate many of the substandard dwellings of the Third Ward and make clearance for better housing. Penn Plaza, the gateway to Newark, was in 1959 a conglomeration of parking lots, saloons and miscellaneous, old

buildings surrounding the one renovated structure; the State Office Building. Much progress in this particular district is underway for its beautification and redevelopment.

Newark has since applied for (an additional) \$41.8 million in federal funds to carry out nine urban renewal projects. This boosts their grant to \$227 million.

The Newark Housing Authority follows an integration policy both in its selection of employees and ^{of} tenants. Since Negroes occupy more than half of Newark's population, it is only right they have a representation in Housing's administrative affairs. Reverend Dr. William P. Hayes, the first prominent Negro to hold an administrative post in Newark Housing, (his tenure lasted ~~Until~~ 1953) ^{was} ~~was~~ so respected and lauded among his fellow peers that a housing development (Hayes Homes) was named in his honor. In 1956, Negro Theodore P. Pettigrew, President of the Newark branch of NAACP, was elected a member of the ~~N.H.A.~~ ^{NHA} during Mayor Carlin's tenure. He served five years on the Housing Board and became vice chairman in later years. He gave Newark's Negro community significant representation on the housing body after a lapse of two years. Other significant Negro office holders are John Garrett and his appointment as head of a new community relations and social services section; and Alfred F. Brown - public information officer for the ~~N.H.A.~~ ^{NHA}, chosen because of his excellent rapport with both moderate and militant groups within the city.

The ~~N.H.A.~~ ^{NHA} continuing in its policy of integration, has barred contractors from hiring segregated work forces for redevelopment projects.

At its September 13, 1951 meeting, the Newark Housing Authority Board of Directors had formally adopted Integration as the policy of the N.H.A. The Then Commissioner Hayes introduced a resolution to that effect. "The agreement", executive director Louis Danzig said, "would be that new projects being built under the Federal Housing Act of 1949 will be integrated from the start; families being selected for them without regard to color." In an interview with Star Ledger reporter Shafer (July 23, 1961) Louis Danzig stated "There'll never be complete harmony in our projects, but not because of our integration policy."

The ratio of whites and non-whites living in Newark's low-rent public housing projects has reversed itself in the last 15 years. White families in 1950 occupied 72.2% of the units while today 60.2% of the families living in projects are Negroes. Newark's 17 projects now house 10,495 people, 6,310 are classified as Negroes. The racial makeup of the individual projects varies widely :

94.7% Whites in Bradley

97.4% Whites in Stephen Crane

98.9% Non-whites in Stella Wright

91.8% Non-whites in Hayes Homes

Newark's housing situation is complex, and like any other city its needs are numerous and great. In many of its undertakings, it will fall short of the expectations of the people, but in others it will achieve, through its actions and developments, the solution to one of the city's most taunting and hideous problems. The future of many people will be determined by the city's Housing Agencies and Programs. We promise them no miracle, just the result

67 years of strenuous struggle and intensive planning. I feel slums will always be a part of the city, especially one as populous as Newark, but the extent to which they exist can be curbed by human effort. Perhaps Newark, prior to 1967, had failed to give its "all" to the housing problem, but a lot has occurred since then. A riot had stormed our city and perhaps awoken many of us to the reality of the situation. Perhaps, too, even the Federal government. And if it has, at least some good will have grown from the RIOTS OF '67.

ANTHONY PARRILLO

AMERICAN HISTORY 11 - 203

Chapter ~~XXXX~~ Four
The Housing Situation in the
City of Newark.

posed as to
The question of ~~what were~~ the causes of the riots in Newark last summer is ~~one that~~ will probably go ^{forever} unanswered. There are ^{for} too many problems in the city of Newark ~~to be~~ related to the riots. ^{In addition} ~~also~~, there are those who feel that Newark was ^{merely} ~~only~~ an example of criminal insurrection. But ^{in trying to pinpoint the causes of riot,} ~~if there were causes of the riots, one that would be a def-~~ ^{inite factor is} Newark's educational system. In fact, ^{Newark archdiocese} The Advocate, the ~~city's~~ Catholic newspaper, holds that "... the lack of educational opportunities has generally been blamed as one of the reasons for last July's racial rioting in Newark." A nine-member biracial committee of civil leaders, some seven months previous to the riots, termed Newark "a city in educational crisis." This statement, though seemingly harsh, is basically true, for there are numerous problems which face Newark today, even as there were last summer.

If the Negro population was angered by the education provided for their children, I believe their anger was justifiable. To give an example of the poor quality of Newark's schools, consider the fact that fifty-two of the seventy-two day schools in Newark are over fifty years old. Of these fifty-two, twenty-five are over seventy-five years old and four are over one hundred years old. Besides ^{the} ~~being~~ physically run-down, ^{quality} there is not enough room for students. It has been estimated that ten thousand classroom seats are needed, a staggering estimation indeed.

Youngsters, in fact, are being bussed out of the city in order to provide for their educations. Another major problem facing Newark schools is to provide students with teachers. The rate of teacher resignations since last July has almost doubled and ^{even} before that, the supply of good-quality teachers was far from adequate. Who is suffering the most because of these inadequacies? The child, ~~is the one who is getting hurt.~~

Last year a survey of ~~the~~ reading abilities of sixth-graders revealed that in eleven "ghetto" schools the children were some two and a half years behind the norm of ~~reading for the average sixth-grade reader.~~ Besides being forced to attend run-down and overcrowded schools, the children in Newark just aren't getting the education they need.

As a result of this, Newark's drop-out rate is rather high. Of the seventy-seven thousand pupils attending Newark schools last year, some seven percent became dropouts. In addition to that, there were approximately eleven thousand reports of truancy and countless others that went unnoticed.

The parents of Newark children have not ^{silently accepted} ~~withstood~~ the situation ~~they are faced with silently.~~ There have been boycotts, as witnessed ^{for example} in the Penshine Ave. School and South Seventeenth Street Schools and ~~numerous other protests.~~ ~~But~~ ^{however} the answer will not be provided ^{by} ~~through~~ the parents, although they might serve as a stimulus. The answers lie in the Newark Board of Education. It is through the efforts of the men on this council that the

educational
goals of the people of Newark could possibly be achieved. But is it their fault that Newark's educational system is in such a condition?

I don't feel that it is. The records show that for a period of some twenty-five years, from about ¹⁹²⁵ ~~nineteen twenty-five~~ to ¹⁹⁵⁰ ~~nineteen fifty~~ not one school was constructed. The Board of Education was content to reconstruct old schools rather than build new ones. It was happy to rest on its laurels, which, believe it or not, were quite good before the turn of the mid-century. In fact, Weequahic High School has produced more Ph. D.'s than any other school in the country. I feel that it was this period ^{of complacency} ~~of time~~ which was the major cause of the degeneration of Newark schools. However, finding the root of problems is often much ^{easier} ~~more~~ easy than getting ^{and it takes} ~~a solution and~~ reaching a solution, ^{is what} ~~is~~ the present Board of Education is faced with.

In an effort to ^{lessen} ~~lighten~~ the number of students in each school, in ~~recent years~~, ten new schools have been built, with fifteen major renovations and forty-nine relocatable classrooms constructed. ~~And~~ ^{Yet, even} this effort has fallen short. There are still ten thousand classroom seats needed. I had the good fortune to interview Mr. Harold Ashby, the head of the executive council of Newark Board of Education, and I asked him what was the major obstacle that could prevent Newark from attaining a satisfactory school system. His reply was "The biggest obstacle facing our school system today is lack of funds." Money, or the lack of it, is a problem which faces

many parts of ~~the city government~~^{and} of Newark, but this is especially true of the educational department. Newark has been granted a fifty-one million dollar construction fund by the federal government, but this is far too little, ~~for Newark,~~^{Newark} which, According to Mr. Ashby, will have to receive ~~over~~^{more than twice} ~~double~~^{necessary} this amount if it is to make the progress that is ~~ne-~~
~~cessary now.~~ As of this moment, all but five million dollars has been used up. But Mr. Ashby does not feel that ~~an increased~~^{an increased} ~~amount in~~ this construction fund will satisfy the needs of the city. He told me, "I don't think that increased funds alone will solve our problems. Programming and studying of the problems of Newark are needed to show us our main weaknesses. A lot of hard work is needed, and also dedicated people who will go into the slum areas of the city and devote themselves to the improvement of the educational facilities. There are problems like the teaching of the disadvantaged child. Many problems like these cannot be solved by money alone."

There have been programs formed in an attempt to deal with such problems. ~~One that has been created~~^{such as} is the Camden Street School Project. This has been formed with the aid of the professors of Newark Rutgers College to try ~~and~~^{to} help the mentally retarded of Newark. Another program being developed is the Special Education Center for Youth. This program has been constructed for the high school drop-out of Newark. It gives ~~the~~^{him} ~~drop-out~~ a counselor to whom he can turn for aid. It is ~~try-~~^{purpose} ~~ing~~^{to} to keep the drop-out off the streets and help him get a job and avoid idleness. Will these numerous projects quell the rising tide of discontent among the parents of Newark's public school students, seventy-one percent of whom are Negroes?

I think the answer can be found in the Barringer High School riots of this past year. According to Mr. Ashby, the racial tension there "reflects the polarization of the feelings of the community in general." If this is so, there are still many ill-feelings among the people of Newark. For the most part, the people are not that concerned with problems facing the disadvantaged child or the high school drop-out. They are concerned with the problems relating to the majority of the ^{student} ~~population~~ - overcrowding, lack of teachers, poor facilities, and poor education in general. They want new schools, more teachers and improved facilities. As of now, it appears they won't be able to receive it for a while. Although the bonding capacity has been raised to fifty-seven million dollars, this is still not enough to meet the needs of Newark. So, the future ~~of what lies ahead for~~ the school system still hangs in doubt. What will be the attitude of the people of Newark, the majority of whom are Negroes, when summer again arrives and they are given the time to reflect upon the present conditions in their city?

They will find men like Mr. Harold Ashby or Mr. Frank Titus, Superintendent of Schools, and numerous others on Board of Education who share deep concern for the desperate situation that exists in Newark today. They will also see the still shoddy conditions of the schools that their children are attending, and the numerous teachers needed to fill positions in these schools.

They must weigh what they find and reach a decision as to whether or not Newark is making progress in the development of its school system. Only the future will give us the answer as to what their decision ^{will be} was. I asked Mr. Ashby what he felt lies ahead for Newark and he replied, "I can only be hopeful. Hopeful that additional funds and devoted workers can bring Newark to the educational plateau it should be at." Indeed,

Newark must receive the additional funds and hard work that are direly needed if it is to move away from its present state and relinquish the name bestowed upon it, "A city in educational crisis."

Chapter Five
Education in ~~the~~ Newark

"Police brutality" seems to be the cry of the American Negro in defense of people involved in riots. Obviously this statement needs qualification.

Brutality, police or otherwise, may consist of violation of the rights of the individual, such as the rights of accused persons, or may be the actual physical violence administered unduly by officers of the law(as is the most widely accepted definition of the term).

The word "involved" encompasses two types of persons: those who took an active part in riots and who broke the law, and the innocent by-standers.

All of these qualifications must be taken into account if the topic of police brutality is to be discussed adequately.

As for the administration of " due process of law", it must be recognized that, in America, a man is innocent until proven guilty. So it cannot be assumed that those who ^{supposedly} took an active part in riots are guilty; they are not until proven so in a court of law and thus retain certain rights as put forth in Ammendment 6 to the Constitution of the United States of America: "... to be informed of the nature and the cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his defense, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense."

Exactly how does all this apply to the riots in July of 1967 in the city of Newark New Jersey?

James Del Mauro, Chief Magistrate of the city of Newark, and the presiding justice in these cases, personally saw to it that every defendant had a lawyer, either of his own choice, or one which was ap-

pointed by the court. Trials were even postponed until each and every defendant had such a lawyer. So, in this instance, the charge of brutality(not in this case 'police brutality' but brutality nevertheless) is totally unfounded.

But Ammendment 8 clearly states, "Excessive bail shall not be required..." How then does Judge Del Mauro account for the unusually high bails posted for mere misdemeanors?

In an interview with other members of the staff of Newark '67 he stated that a "carnival" atmosphere prevailed and that in his opinion, the "accused" were not penitent, and, if released on the normal low bail, would return to the streets and commit the same offenses again. The question is simple and the answer is certainly reasonable.

So, in the charges of 'brutality' levied against the Judicial Department of the city of Newark, the evidence is quite clear, and the verdict must be 'not guilty'.

As the word implies, police brutality is accepted as meaning physical injury unduly inflicted by an officer of the law. But against whom? Naturally, the aforementioned types: the active participant and the by-stander.

Regarding brutality against the former, it must be remembered that, in reality, a state of war existed in the city of Newark, and that the policeman risked his life every time he stepped into the riot-torn streets. That one fireman and one policeman were killed in the performance of their respective duties will attest to this fact.

The arguments for or against brutality vary according to the type of person and his point of view. A radical in favor would say, for

instance, that the policeman has no obligation toward the rioters and must regard every one of his own acts as acts of self-defense. The pacifist against would say that the policeman has no right to get violent unless his life is actually endangered, which is rarely.

Un warranted brutality is never ~~necessary~~. *excusable*

The question is what does the word "unwarranted" mean; and herein lies the crux of the matter.

The policeman has the right to defend his life. This is unquestionable. At times it is necessary to arrest a "suspect" with more than a mere invitation to step into the police car. In these instances, the policeman is justified to use any means at his disposal to keep his prisoner at bay. But he should not go out of his way to use physical means.

The situation naturally determines the methods used, so let us look at the matter in the context of the Newark riots.

It would be well to note that, although throughout the cases heard by Justice Del Mauro, various charges of "police Brutality" were heard, only one actual case was brought before the courts: the charge by LeRoi Jones, Barry W. Wynn and Charles M^CCray.

Since the way to test the truth in these charges of brutality is to bring them before the courts, and as the accusers are unwilling to do this, the situation seems to have solved itself. Here, again, the verdict must be "not guilty".

By far, the majority of the complaints of police brutality^{was} lodged by the innocent by-stander, who took no active part in the riots. In fact, the spark that ignited the riots in Newark was set off by cab driver John Smith who complained that he was illegally arrested and

victimimized by the Newark police. Rumors of his arrest and alledged mistreatment quickly spread and the situation was quickly out of hand.

Mr. Smith's statements were subsequently questioned and Police Director Dominick A. Spina and three fellow officers filed a ~~104~~ ¹⁰⁴ *104-16-2-104* million ¹⁰⁴ *104* slander suit against him, alledging that he maliciously made false statements concerning police conduct on at least eight different occasions starting on July 12.

On August 8, 1967, Albert ~~XXXX~~ Black, chairman of the Newark Human Rights Commission offered what he said was documented proof of brutality on the part of the state police during the recent Newark riots.

Black listed the following charges: 26 residents of Beacon Street in a signed petition, said they were eye-witnesses to state police actions ~~and~~ on Friday, July 14, at approximately 5:30 P.M. when, without warning or provocation, the police sprayed the street from left to right, near Springfield Avenue and shot James Snead, 36, in the stomach as he was making repairs on his car. Karl Green, 17, the statement said, was shot in the head while he was standing on his sister's porch at 55 Beacon Street.

Arguments, as always, can be given for and against police action, for example: the people had no right to be on the streets in that situation. But it was their streets and who can deny them the right to stand on them? The latter question can be used to stipulate that the police should have been more careful and acted in restraint. But maybe the police heard a distrubance and were taking no chances, in view of the situation. *The possibility was a condition.*

As one can see, it is in these cases that subjectivity plays its most important role, and a decision cannot be reached until each and every case has been carefully gone over. I have neither the time nor the desire to do so; that job is for the courts.

Yet it seems strange that not a single, formal charge of police brutality has been brought before the courts in these "by-stander" cases. On this basis, the verdict must, ~~again,~~ be 'not guilty'.

On the whole, it must be said that the Newark Police Department as well as the Judicial System of the city of Newark performed admirably in their handling of the riots with regard to the fair treatment of all concerned. It seems that this is the only logical conclusion that can be reached in view of the evidence presented.

Chapter Sex
Police Brutality?

NEWARK 67

CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVITY

Just how much civil rights had to do with the riots is not really known. Called a "criminal insurrection" by Governor Hughes and a "liberation" fight by some civil rights activists, no one seems ^{sure} just why the riots occurred. Did civil rights leaders play a role in Newark's violence? They most certainly did! There^{is} no doubt that these leaders were involved before during and after the riots. But to what extent? It is hard to pinpoint how much the need for civil rights had to do with starting the massive destruction. No one wants to say his group did this or ^{just} although there have been accusations in respect to the activities of certain people and certain groups connected with the civil rights movement. For instance, Colonel David Kelly, head of the New Jersey State Police charged that members of S.N.C.C. were definitely involved in the Newark riots. "We have definite proof that there were outsiders involved in the Newark riots" he later said in an interview, ~~but~~ he would not say S.N.C.C. itself was involved, "but members of it were definitely."

There has also been reason to believe Stokely Carmichael may have been connected with the three nights of disturbances. Another factor concerning civil rights activity preceding the riots pertains to reports that "schools" had been run in secret to prepare citizens on how to make molotov cocktails and similar means of destruction. It is also known that bulletins with such information were distributed throughout the city during that fateful week. Whether these were criminals coming into the city to stir up trouble, or radical civil rights people thinking they could achieve something through violence, is still unknown; yet, ^{recently} a factor that may have been of more importance than anyone realizes at this time.. But if this was a fight for freedom on the part of Negroes in the community, why wouldn't they listen to those who are supposed to be their leaders? In Thomas Hayden's

book "Rebellion in Newark", he mentions that on Thursday night of the riots, at a demonstration in front of the police station, the Human Rights Commission Director James Threatt arrived with a message from the Mayor. Threatt said Addonizio had made several promises, including a Negro Captain by July 17, (80% of these concessions have since been made, according to the Mayor) if the demonstrators would disperse and go home. But they only shouted louder and told him to get off the precinct steps. Later, this demonstration turned into violence and looting and eventually, a riot.

This is not the only case in which a civil rights official and members of the clergy went out into the street to try ^{to} and calm their people down, but to no avail. They had become so ^{involved} ~~caught up~~ in this ^{debacle} ~~thing~~, that it was impossible to reach them with common sense.

In the July 17th issue of the New York Times, leaders of Negro groups agreed that no single person could speak for all of Newark's 250,000 Negroes. They said that Donald Malapronte, an aide to Mayor Addonizio, was completely wrong when he said that racial violence spread in Newark because Negro leaders could not control rioting Negroes in the city's Central Ward.

Andrew Washington, educational chairman of the Newark-Essex CORE, said "He ^(Malapronte) assumes Negroes are sheep to be led by one man or one group, no one man, nor one group controls the Italian or Irish community."

Sally G. Carroll, President of the Newark branch of the N.A.A.C.P., had called the allegation that Negro spokesmen should be able to control Negro rioters "foolishly in error" and said the prime cause of the riots was the Mayor's "turning a deaf ear to Negro needs".

Philip Hutchons, organizer for S.N.C.C. in Newark said that "those considered Negro leaders by the general public usually have a lot of influence downtown with white people but very little influence in the black community." "Most of the people who know the black people and who could influence them, are not the people City Hall talks to," said Junius Williams, a Yale University law student who heads the

Vista League Associates in Newark. "They are looked upon as radicals, Communists or outside agitators or they are classed as rabble!"

Ralph Mathews, editor of the Newark edition of the Afro-American, a nationalist Negro weekly said, "Civil rights people can't be responsible for riots--The man who riots and loots doesn't know or care about organized civil rights groups.."

One street gang leader who fit Mr. Matthews description said he found the hurling of rocks and bottles at the police station by hundreds of Negroes on Thursday night, an example of "positive community protest". "Those brothers and sisters were together for the first time in their lives", he said, "Police brutality is a real thing to them. Why else would they converge on a particular building or let loose a barrage like that."

The general feeling of Civil Rights groups seems to be that the Mayor is chiefly to blame for the five days of violence in Newark. The N.A.A.C.P. drew up a resolution blaming city officials for the riots. William H. Booth, author of the resolution and chairman of the New York City Commission on Human Rights, ^{stated} ~~said~~, "Violence was sparked by efforts of Addonizio to appoint an unqualified white man over an exceptionally qualified Negro to a post on the Board of Education in the face of a unified demand from the Negro community". "The resolution said ^{that} the Newark administration "failed to take corrective action to meet many of the grave social ills of the Newark community." The resolution called ~~on~~ "all law abiding citizens to help put down violence".

The N.A.A.C.P. also drew up a five point plan following the riots. This included: 1) a meeting with the Governor; 2) retention of former District Attorney General John Love to represent Negroes in cases of alleged police brutality; 3) assurance that the proposed investigation board suggested by the Governor to determine the causes of the riots will be predominately Negro in membership; 4) the holding of a strategy meeting July 29 in Military Park Hotel, Newark; 5) hiring of two college sociology professors to conduct an independent survey as to why the riots began.

3)

Some of the causes cited by Sally G. Carroll for unrest among Negroes are poor housing, rat infested slums, inferior education, poor recreational facilities and high unemployment rate. Miss Carroll also said that one of the main objectives of the N.A.A.C.P. besides the five point plan would be a massive voter registration drive. "We are not disregarding the possibility of having a Negro mayor in Newark in 1970."

These are the material things that the Negro seems to be seeking from the riots, but is that all? In an issue of "The Economist" concerning the riots, the author said "many of the urban Negroes in the North, particularly the younger men, have nothing to lose. The gain from rioting, on the other hand, is readily apparent: release of anger, notoriety, the curious kind of pride that accompanies creating headlines in newspapers all over the world and some concrete show of protest against the white man and his rules."

And in a N.A.A.C.P. bulletin "Rights", the author, Andrew Kopkind, says "the battle of Newark was less than a revolution but more than just a cry of frustration. If its politics were primitive and ambiguous, it was still a mass uprising in which tens of thousands—perhaps half the black people of the city—participated in some way. Governor Hughes was appalled at the holiday air he felt in the ghetto, but to anyone who understands what it means to be black in the white American Century, that was a liberating spirit."

Maybe this is what the riots were all about. Maybe the black members of the Newark community, as well as the black members of every other community, have been pushed too far for too long. Perhaps they are no longer able to suppress the anger and hate felt toward the white man's "establishment".

*The late Langston Hughes' questioning the effects of deferred dreams decades ago has meaning eventoday when in the poem "Harlem" he says:

What happens to a dream deferred? Does it dry up? Like a raisin in the sun? Does it stink like rotten meat? Or crust and/over--like a syrupy sweet? Maybe it sags like a heavy load. Or does it explode?

* taken from a N.A.A.C.P. Bulletin

During the Newark riots, the question arose concerning agitation. Some thought Communists were behind it. Some thought there was agitation, but not Communist. Still others thought there was no agitation.

At first Mayor Addonizio thought that there was no agitation, but upon talking to some religious leaders, he changed his mind. Whether outside, inside or Communist, ^{it definitely existed} ~~there was definitely agitation.~~

INSIDE AGITATION

The United Community Corps. is known to have agitated during the riots. This anti-poverty organization used federal funds to incite the ghetto area. *(initials)*

Le Roi Jones, along with Charles Mac Rae and Barry Wynn, were indicted July 19, 1967. They were charged with having two revolvers in their possession on July 14, when they were arrested.

There were other "inside" agitators whose names were not available.

COMMUNIST AGITATION?

There is little evidence of Communist agitation. The only similarity between the Newark riot and a typical Communist-agitated riot is that most of the Jewish shopkeepers along Springfield Avenue were ransacked. This is no evidence, however, to say that it was a Communist oriented riot.

In the July 16 edition of the Newark Sunday News, Governor Richard Hughes stated that the Newark riots were not the work of Communists.

OUTSIDERS IN THE RIOTS

There is a conflict between just how many of the known agitators were from outside Newark.

The July 23 issue of the Newark News states that 15% of those arrested were from out of town. Exactly what these outsiders were arrested for cannot be revealed, so it is impossible to tell how many were agitators.

The August 2 issue of the Newark News, however, states that 20 of 1,465 arrested were outsiders. Again, it is impossible to tell how many were ~~ag~~ *actively engaged in fomenting rebellion* ~~itators.~~

COLONEL HASSAN

On August 4, 1967, Detective William Millard told the Senate Judiciary Committee that he attended a meeting on South Orange Avenue on April 28, 1967. Speaking at this meeting was a "Colonel Hassan", head of the "Blackman's Army of Liberation."

"The colonel wore a black beret with the insignias of a colonel on both shoulders and two stars on the collar of his khaki shirt."

At the meeting, Hassan told the group that the

United States government planned to put all Negroes in the country in concentration camps. He said that the camps for the Negroes are already built at Army bases

"Colonel Hassan said that if Newark asked him for help, he would bring guns into the city," Millard testified.

Hassan was known to have taken part in demonstrations connected with protests against the New Jersey College of Medicine and Dentistry in Newark and the appointment of a secretary to the Board of Education.

"At one of the meetings, the colonel ripped notes ~~off the~~ proceedings from a recording machine. The whole place was in an uproar. Hassan was taken from the room, but he told the authorities if he was locked up 'The whole world will hear what you are doing to the colonel.'" Hassan was not arrested for fear of other trouble.

Other names of agitators could not be revealed by Police Headquarters.

IT DO EXIST.

Chapter Seven
Civil Rights Activity - Agitation

Chapter Eight
Criminal Insurrection ?

Some of the opinionated press said both the mayor and the Governor acted too slowly in crushing the riots. I interviewed a State Trooper, whose name will be withheld at his own wish, who was stationed on Springfield Avenue, the business center of the Central Ward. His opinion on the governor's action was he had acted in the only way he could. The State Police and National Guard under the State Police were sent in at the governor's request. The riots could have broke out at anytime and over any little thing but it just happened then. I asked him if he was restricted in the use weapons and he promptly replied that it was a matter of human self defense. If someone is going to try and hurt you, you naturally try to defend yourself. His opinion on the press was that they had distorted the riots as much as they could. The true picture could not be presented because it would not be believed.

Like the spark that ignited the flame, the riot spread to the downtown business area. About a thousand Newark stores were looted, destroyed or damaged. This total includes seventy to eighty establishments considered to be total losses. Only some of what is lost is covered by insurance, and since the riots lasted six days a great deal was stolen.

Businesses are hesitant at going into an area already hit by a riot, even though statistics say it will not happen again. This in turn hurts the state. A state tax cannot be paid if workers lose pay and shoppers stay at home. What action can the state take against this?

After the riots had been quenched, Mayor Hugh Addonizio promised many reforms and the governor stood behind him. It has been six months and besides promoting a few Negro policemen, neither the city or the state has done anything to clean up the city and relieve some of the pressure.

The city must handle any cases concerning vandalism during the riots, but on outside agitation there is action being taken even above that of the state. The Senate Judiciary Committee is considering a House-passed bill to make it a federal crime for anyone to cross a State line to incite a riot. Officials say this was the case with Newark. That agitators came from as far away as Detroit. State Police Superintendant David B. Kelly, while speaking at the North Jersey Conference of Mayors said he had become convinced that some individuals who were responsible for "illegal, unlawful, criminal and frightening activities" were actually challenging the state. He did not say if these individuals were residing in the state or living outside of it.

Colonel Kelly also said that cooperation between state and local police has improved markedly since last summer's riots.

Newark's riot caused other minor riots in the state. A total of fourteen cities were hit in New Jersey, to make this state number one as to race troubles in 1967. Five days of fire-bombing, looting and sniping left twenty-seven dead, more than 1,100 injured, more than 1,300 under arrest, with damaged estimated above 15 million dollars in Newark. The state took action, but was it enough?

PART
THREE

EFFECT OF
THE RIOTS

COMMUNITY RELATIONS

BEFORE AND AFTER THE RIOT

1

Overall community relations in Newark are bad. There exists a huge gap between the Negro and the white; a spirit of resentment, jealousy, frustration, and contempt inhabits the Central Ward.

RACE RELATIONS

On July 18, 1967, a group of more than sixty business, religious, educational, and social work leaders organized a "Committee of Concern". In the July 18 issue of The Newark News, the committee stated:

"The white population of the city of Newark is a minority of the total city and yet all effective power is in the hands of the white community. A large segment of the non-white population is excluded from the basic political life and from the decision making process which affects their lives. Examples of the frustration in the Negro community can be found in the controversy over the location of the New Jersey College of Medicine and Dentistry, and the appointment of a successor to the secretary of the Board of Education. In both of these instances, major decisions were made affecting the bulk of the Negro community, without due regard to the views of the Negro community."

(P)

This is one of the more important reasons for the present relations. The Negro has literally no say in his city government. Indeed there are many Negro leaders, but none hold significant, policy-making posts.

Police brutality is also a major Negro gripe. One can always read in the papers of a Negro being beaten for hardly any sufficient reason. Police brutality can be said to have started the riots. It was the incident involving Patrolmen Pontrelli and De Simone and John William Smith, a driver for the Safety Cab Company, that actually touched off the riots. All during the riots, reports came into Newark Police Headquarters involving police brutality. Now that the riots are over, reports are still read in the papers. There is also some dis-satisfaction with the courts-system, some claiming racial prejudice. In the same article of the Newark News, the "Committee of Concern" also stated:

"A Civilian Review Board is long overdue and such a board must be so constituted as to insure the confidence of the Negro community. Concurrently, a reconstruction of the Magistrate's Courts is needed."

Unemployment is another cause of the gap in relations. Negro leaders have stated through various media that is an urgent need for a coordinating training program that will be geared to specific jobs in the

public and private spheres. They also agree that there is a special responsibility for the community, the labor unions, and the government to meet this problem.

"The housing conditions in the Negro ghetto and other parts of the city are indescribably bad." This is the general attitude of the Negro towards the housing problem in Newark. Newark has some of the most flagrant slum conditions in the country. There has been a failure to deal with this problem on the scale necessary, considering the need. The Negro family seeking decent housing finds itself excluded from being able to move out into the white suburbs which encircle the city. The "Committee of Concern" stated in the same article quoted before: "The white suburban communities, which to a large extent are economically sustained by the core city, cannot escape their responsibility to insure that those who live in the core city enjoy the good things which our affluent society can produce. Decent housing is high on the list of those things."

Schools were also named as a cause for community strife. The public school situation is just as bad as the housing situation. Many prominent Negro leaders complain that de facto school segregation exists in Newark. It is estimated that 60% of the Newark public school population is Negro. Still more gripes are inadequate school facilities, unsafe schools, lack of teachers, and the infamous "Callaghan appointment". The school system has long been under fire for these and other reasons.

In the July 19th edition of The Newark News, reporter Bob Shabazian writes:

"Police Director Dominick A. Spina ... complained- in a previously unpublicized telegram- to the federal government that agitation by the United Community Corporation (U.C.C.), the city's anti-poverty agency, would 'undoubtedly lead to riots and anarchy in our city'".

Spina's complaint was made on May 25, to Sargent Shriver, head of the Office of Economic Opportunity (O.E.O.), in which the Police Director charged that some local anti-poverty workers were found to agitate against the city government. The O.E.O. investigated his complaint and reported on June 13, to Spina that it found no evidence of the allegation.

Spina's telegram came to light in Washington on July 18, 1967, at a Senate sub-committee hearing on poverty.

In his telegram to Shriver, Spina protested the use of resources and manpower of the U.C.C. "for the purpose of fomenting and agitating against the city government".

Newark Mayor Hugh J. Addonizio was quoted as saying:

"I don't condone the action of certain officials of the anti-poverty program. My feeling is that certain actions by some people of that agency contributed to the riot."

Councilmen Addonizio and Bernstein, members of a council committee that investigated the anti-poverty program,

said the area boards of the U.C.C. "acted as a focal point to foment trouble".

The Mayor added that it was the influence of the Students for a Democratic Society in the U.C.C. that apparently was the aritating force in the anti-poverty program.

The U.C.C., which was created for the main purpose of helping the Negroes in the ghetto area, went far beyond its intended goal.

This is an example of the mis-leadership in the Negro community.

On January 25, 1968, a resolution was passed by Newark's Committee of Concern calling for an immediate meeting comprised of Mayor Hugh J. Addonizio, ~~William S. Addonizio~~, both New Jersey United States Senators, Congressmen from Essex County and the entire Essex County State Legislative Delegation.

Negro and white community leaders from the city met to discuss the causes of the riots and for the urgency of combatting old problems with what might happen. The old problems still exist but are, however, far more pending than before. Mrs. Edna Thomas, Central Ward Housing Project resident, stated that the mood of the community had not changed since the riots. She further said, "Most of the persons I know don't talk about Molotov Cocktails any more, they talk about Mayonnaise jars filled with molasses and lye to throw at the cops. Molasses to stick and lye to burn."

Malcolm Talbott, Vice-President of Rutgers University, Newark Campus, expressed fears that the problem may be too broad to accomplish anything.

Mayor Addonizio is the first to admit that Newark and its Negro residents have many problems. This city of more than four hundred thousand people has been losing popularity for years - especially ~~among~~ white population. The percentage of Negroes has grown from 34.6 per cent in 1960 to something more than 50 per cent in 1967.

Not only whites but also many middle-class Negroes have left the city. Unemployment in Newark is extremely high - above 7 per cent overall. Negro leaders claim that it is doubled that among Negro residents.

~~SECRET~~

In a recent application for Federal Grant for Urban Renewal under the "Model Cities" program, city officials said this; "Among major American cities, Newark and its citizens face the highest percentage of sub-standard housing, the most crime per hundred thousand of population, the highest per capita tax burden, the sharpest shifts in population, and the highest rate of venereal disease, new cases of ~~t~~uberculosis, and maternal mortality.

"In addition, Newark is second among major cities in population density, second in infant mortality, second in birth rate, seventh in absolute numbers of drug addicts..." While admitting all this, city officials insist that they have tried hard to remedy these conditions - and have made some progress. In housing, nine thousand dwelling units in slums have been replaced with seventeen thousand six hundred and twenty-five new units. Officials claim that the percentage of sub-standard housing units has been cut from 34 per cent in 1960 to 16 per cent in 1967.

In Newark, \$277 ~~per~~ per person is being spent on urban renewal - the highest per capita spending of any big city. Washington has poured more than \$25,000,000. into anti-poverty programs in Newark in the past 3 years. Just before the riots, there was approval of two new projects: 4.3 million dollars to train jobless workers and \$275,000. to turn 50 streets into playgrounds.

Newark's school budget has more than doubled in four years, its pay for teachers is reported to be the highest in the East, and a school-construction program is costing \$51,000,000.

About \$450,000. a month is being spent on welfare programs for twelve thousand persons - 90 per cent of them Negroes.

17

There is a feeling of desperation and frustration in the riot-torn sections of Newark which continues and will continue even though the violence and riots ~~have~~^{have} long-since ended. Illinois Governor ~~Otto~~^{Otto} Kerner, Chairman of the President's Special Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, said after a tour of the city: "I found many stores still boarded up and a number of owners indicated they will not go back in business in Newark." Kerner toured the Central Ward, talking with merchants and people walking down the streets. He said many wondered why burned-out buildings had not been torn down. He also said that many of the store-owners stated they would not reopen because they ~~could not~~^{could} obtain no insurance coverage.

"But many of them have remodeled and have reopened," he said, "the others should follow suit." Kerner said he spoke with a barber who told him he was going to leave town "because business is so bad."

Insurance will cover only a small part of the losses suffered by businessmen whose stores were wrecked, looted, or destroyed by fire. Because of the growing riot danger across the country, insurance in Negro neighborhoods has become expensive and hard to get.

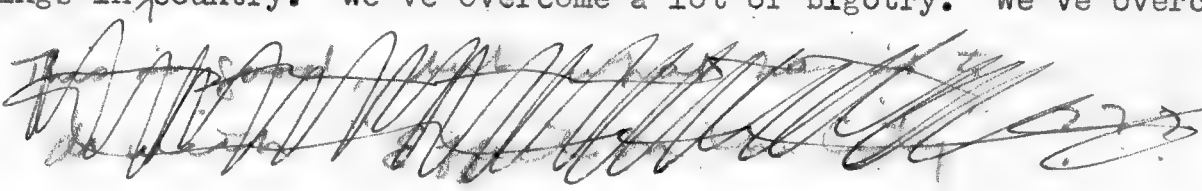
Loans from the Small Business Administration are expected to help finance reopening of wrecked stores. Some businessmen are talking of leaving the Negro areas as a bad risk.

Pressed for further impressions from his tour, Kerner said, "It will all go into the report to the President." Earlier in the tour, Kerner ate lunch at a project operated by the "Blazers," an anti-poverty group for training youths in the trades. He said he was "very impressed."

A

When ^{RACIAL} ~~racial~~ turmoil erupted in New Jersey, its Governor acted fast and hard to restore order. Armed troops moved against the rioters. Arrests soared into the hundreds, still it took days to restore semblance of order. Governor Hughes stated that the first lesson the riots taught him was the need to enforce the law and not permit criminal elements who are burning and killing and looting to hide behind the shield "Civil Rights." At the same time, and consistent with all that, he feels there is a need for a prompt and unconditional restoration of order. He further stated that "we cannot live in a condition of anarchy in this country, and that we have got a lot of things to do with our schools and with employment, housing, and we have tried to do so much. We've made great gains in recent years, and yet the problems of life are overtaking us a bit. "

When asked whether this situation presents a threat to the ability of this country to govern itself, he stated that he felt it could. "I think," he said, "all things considered, the night that the Newark riot broke out, a portion of the city was out of control. I invoked emergency powers, first by calling in the state police and then by calling in the National Guard of New Jersey. They began to patrol the streets with ^{HEAVILY} ~~heavy~~-manned military vehicles and sufficient arms. I closed all the bars, for one thing - all the taverns, all the package stores, all the places that sell liquor - not only in Newark but in surrounding communities, ⁱⁿ ~~an~~ an effort to dry out this town, because obviously drinking and dissipation had much to do with setting off violence." In closing, the Governor stated, "We've overcome many things in ^{this} country. We've overcome a lot of bigotry. We've overcome



some very ugly things and will overcome this ugly thing. How long will it take? That's like saying, 'How soon do you think you'll get to heaven.'"

The rioting has left in its wake not only devastation, but bitterness.

In any community, without a comprehensive survey of "whities" feeling toward the Negro i.e. what he wants done, whether he wants to punish the Negro, or correct the causes of a riot, it is impossible to know the extent of white-backlash. But what exactly is white-backlash?

White-backlash is the attitude of the white community during and especially after a riot. This can only be shown by the action of the administration, community action groups and individuals.

↑
p. 10 follows
directly

9

488

I will begin with the attitudes and actions of the administration. In this, I will include the ~~P~~olice and ~~S~~tate ~~T~~roopers along with the National Guard as an integral part of that administration. The majority of this information has been ~~TAKEN~~ ~~taken~~ from newspaper clippings that were in print during or within a few days of the riots.

We can begin to see a degree of white-backlash the Saturday and Sunday of the riots. Essex County Freeholder Director Charles Matthews and Leon Ewing, a Democratic district leader, brought charges against the State Troopers. Ewing said that he saw ~~S~~tate ~~P~~olice shoot holes in his storefront windows and others on Bergen Street at 1:30 a.m., Sunday, July 17. There were also complaints by ~~N~~egro businessmen, and individuals who stopped an Evening Star car to make sure the ~~P~~ress knew about it. They charged that the ~~T~~roopers, on Saturday and/or Sunday, shot holes in the windows of businesses ^{ES} which had the protective sign "~~S~~oul ~~B~~rother" in their windows. One bystander said, "The troopers did it. They want to make sure the ~~DAMAGE~~ ~~damage~~ is shared." Governor Hughes promised to process these complaints, and that the State Police and National Guard promised similar investigations on their own, but to my knowledge there have been ^{NO} ~~decisions~~ as yet.

Another incident of white-backlash, ~~taking~~ ^{TAKING} place shortly after the riots, might be seen in the action of the Fraternal Order of Police. They asked Governor Hughes to remove Oliver Lofton from the "blue ribbon" panel investigating the riots. Leonard F. Kowalewski, president of the Police group, sent a telegram to Governor Hughes, telling him that because Lofton is director of the Newark Legal Services Project

(6)

defending the people arrested for participating in the riots and who are accusing the Police of brutality, in conjunction with statements in the press by him and his staff, that he could not be "unbiased and ^{un}prejudiced in every sense of the word."

~~After the riot, however, the search for a scapegoat~~

One of the most striking and controversial actions must be the charges against the United Community Corp. This search for a scapegoat, oddly enough, came from James C. Gardner, Republican, North Carolina. Gardner met with councilmen Bernstein and Addonizio in New York and then came to view the riot areas. While he was here, riots broke out in Durham, North Carolina, which falls under his own congressional district. Gardner said he is going to prove the direct involvement of the United Community Corp. and other antipoverty organizations across the nation, in the ^o fermenting of riots.

Bernstein and Addonizio, however, have been fighting for more say in the antipoverty program in Newark since its inauguration there, and they have never stopped ^{CRITICIZING} ~~criticizing~~ it. Five days later, Mayor Addonizio jumped on the band wagon and requested the House Education and Labor Committee to send staff investigators to find out whether activities of poverty workers had anything to do with the riots.

This action was immediately met by two contrary views. Sen. Fredrick J. Schold, Republican, Camden, said, "The administration in Washington and Trenton must bear the full responsibility for much of the injury done to the people in the ghettos... The people they were giving lip service to are the very people who suffered the most." Former vice -

~~11~~

president of the United Community Corp., Rabbi Jonathan J. Prinz, said it is "in bad taste and inconsistent with the facts." The Rabbi said the Mayor should be "a statesmen, not a namecaller," and "One would think that Mayor Addonizio would now be taking the initiative in uniting the city and comforting its frightened inhabitants rather than using this opportunity to shift the blame."

White-backlash, however, can also be "not seen". It is obviously more important to show the lack of it, and on the whole, this can be seen in the actions of the administration individuals, and private groups.

To facilitate the judicial process, the Newark Essex Avenue Armory was turned into a temporary jail and courtroom. Judges there heard applications for the reducing or eliminating of bail in indictable cases. There were also similar courts in the Essex County Jail on Newark Street and the Essex County Penitentiary in Caldwell. These cases were put off till September 23, by Essex County Prosecutor Brendan T. Byrne, at the request of Peter Murray, head of the state's public defender system. Murray asked for this delay to prepare defenses for the accused. Mr. Murray also had offers from 90 lawyers throughout the state offering ~~these~~ ^{THEIR} services to the indigent. Mr. Byrne, at the time, had already added three men to his staff, and Judge ~~William J. G. [unclear]~~ ^{NO,} Superior Court Judge, who handles the assignment of cases for Essex County, said he would probably ask for more judges. It seems clear that justice was served, and that there was no attempt to hustle the rioters to jail.

[Handwritten signature]
[Handwritten signature]

H

No more than two days after the riots had ended, ~~afterwards~~ a group of business, educational and social work leaders organized as a "Committee of Concern". These leaders, both white and Negro, immediately set to the task of correctly explaining the causes of the riots. At the very beginning they wanted it known that the label of "criminal insurrection" given by the Mayor and the Governor was a disnomer and that unless the basic causes of the riots were realized and dealt with, the riots would come again. They immediately set out to re-establish a degree of rapport between the Negro and white communities in Newark. They elected Malcolm Talbott, vice president of Rutgers, Newark, and Oliver Totten, director of the Newark Legal Service, as co-chairmen of the committee; also elected were Mrs. Marion Kidd, secretary, and Theron Marsh, executive vice-president of the National Newark and Essex Bank, treasurer. The Committee urged an investigation by an independent group into charges of Police brutality and it approved a position upholding the right of any group to hold a meeting in Newark, as long as the rioting had stopped, ^{e.g.} ~~the~~, the Black Power Conference.

The Urban League of Essex County, an interracial social agency, also took a hand in bringing calm and order back to Newark's riot-torn areas. After a meeting at the Military Park Hotel, which is no more than a block away from the Robert Treat, where the Black Power Conference was held, the League announced its sponsorship of a meeting of all community groups. The League pledged its aid to Mayor Addonizio, Governor Hughes and other officials. The League also began work with the Salvation Army to set up emergency food services for families

whoses usual ~~plans~~ ^{plans} had been destroyed. In addition, ~~in 1945~~
it tried to work ^{out} some plan to supplement medical services at
City Hospital.

The Prudential Insurance Company was not to be out-
done. Its president Orville T. Deal said, "The business community
feels deeply about Newark, its people and its problems." The
Prudential donated \$20,000 ~~to the~~ to the United Community Corp.
Emergency Relief Fund, created to make available food, clothing,
and medical supplies to strikers' families. At the same time,
president Timothy ^{STILL'S} ~~chair~~ of the United Community Corp., announced
the creation of the Newark Volunteer Corp. to offer information
services and to record complaints and grievances from citizens.

Individuals also played a part in voicing views for better community relations. A white New York attorney, started a fund to aid innocent victims of the riots. ~~his name was~~ Robert D. Gould. Archbishop Thomas A. Boland of the Archdiocese of Newark requested parishes in the metropolitan area to say prayers at all the Masses throughout the week until conditions were returned to normal. The Archbishop asked citizens to remember ~~THAT~~ the outbreak was not "the fault of many, but of ~~a~~ small segment" of Newark's population. Most important of all he stressed the hope that, "simmering, feelings of fear, revenge and hate," would not linger on. The Mayor himself appealed to the white population of Newark when he said, "Let me say to the white community of Newark and the white community of America that understanding is what is necessary at this time, not increased anger or bitterness..."

Perhaps one of the best examples of all, however, came from Dr. Marvin Bram a white optometrist, who has had his

642

practice on Springfield Avenue for 13 years. He, along with his white nurse receptionist, Mrs. Eileen Moran, said they were coming back, not because they weren't afraid, but, "because we want to keep living as we did." Color was not the making of this problem.... We're all trying to find a way of life where there's enough to eat, a place to sleep and a little pleasure. It was a drastic way, but maybe it will wake up people on the governmental level."

Leave a break in the page, then continue:

The economic situation in the Negro ghetto also had a strong effect on community relations.

Store owners and small businessmen are very dissatisfied with the status quo. Their main complaint is the Urban Renewal project. This plan, it seems, will force the store owners to re-locate, and new sites are hard to find.

Jack Oelbaum, a Springfield Avenue shopkeeper, writes in the Springfield Ave. News on September 1, 1967:

"This community needs us because of our experience, because of our prestige in helping them in their constant fight for better living conditions, school conditions, and job opportunities. All storekeepers, black or white, take much out of an area; it's time we put some of what we have taken out back in terms of money and time."

The Springfield Ave. News estimated that businessmen in the Central Ward lost \$10.2 million, mostly in liquor, due to the riots. Many are moving out of the city, some are staying. Most of these businesses had insurance, but due to the riots, they are being released by their insurance companies.

The Newark Riots did no good. Both Negro and white suffered severely. Nothing was gained. Shopkeepers, as

15

Begin new page

FOREIGN REACTION TO THE RIOT

~~FOREIGN REACTION TO THE NEWARK RIOT~~

REPORTS :

Montreal - "Racial Riots Kill 7"

London - "Racial Violence Rocks New Jersey"

Paris - "Violence Approaches New York"

Moscow - "An Explosion of Hatred: Bloody Events in Newark"

Peking - "New High in Afro-Americans' Violent Struggle"

These were the headlines around the world as the foreign press commented on the Newark riot of 1967.

The Peking Review of July 28, 1967 reported, "...brutal suppression by 7,000 national guardsmen and police..." and, "...troops were called in for wholesale arrests and slaughter of the Afro-Americans..."

The same publication said:

"In the face of the rising struggle of the Afro-Americans, the Johnson Administration, in addition to resorting to armed suppression, is applying still more craftily the tactics of deception, bribery and of 'divide and rule'. While organizing white riot squads in the Negro areas and arresting those Negro leaders who are resolute in struggle, it is also taking 'welfare' measures to find employment for some Negro youths and helping such 'leaders' as Martin Luther King to strengthen their control of the Negro movement in an attempt to undermine and wreck it. In Newark, for example, while making a blood thirsty outcry for the use of force to restore 'law and order' and threatening Negro snipers with 'maximum sentence', Governor Hughes of New Jersey also sent many clergymen and upper-class Negroes into the ghetto to persuade the demonstrators to 'play it cool'."

Radio Hanoi also reported "tactics of deception" when it reported that "The Johnson clique thought that by a few demagogic tricks such as appointing Negroes to the Supreme Court or taking Negroes into the astronautic service they could soothe the anger of the Afro-Americans."

In an article entitled "Black Against White", the British

16

magazine The Economist also laid the problem in the lap of the whites:

"The thing to get straight is that civil rights is a white problem, not a black one. Segregation, deprivation, alienation of the black man, these are all caused by the white majority in America. If change is to come, it can only be brought about by the people who have the power to make decisions, that is, by the white community. This brutal fact is perceived by most Negroes though by few whites. The riots are more a cry of rage, frustration and vengeance than anything else. They are not planned and certainly not caused by 'outside agitators', although it takes only a slight incident to spark widespread destruction."

This last part contrasts sharply with the Peking Review when it reported:

"The awakening of the Afro-Americans has found expression in the fact that their spontaneous, scattered and isolated struggles have gradually become conscious and organized actions waged one in support of another. When the Afro-Americans in Newark rose in revolt, their black brothers in Plainfield, Jersey City and other nearby towns rose and fought the police to tie them down. As one Western news agency has admitted, the Afro-Americans 'are more organized than ever'."

It was the second time that month that New Jersey made headlines in Russia. First, there was the Glassboro conference, then, as Isvestia's three column headline announced, "An Explosion of Hatred: Bloody Events in Newark." The factual account began: "Blood is flowing for the third straight day..." and concluded by noting that half the city's population is Negro. "Among them there is always more than enough combustible material - poverty, high unemployment and having to live in slums."

COMMENTS

Mao Tse-tung was quoted in the Peking Review as saying:

"The speedy development of the struggle of the Afro-Americans is a manifestation of sharpening class struggle and sharpening national struggle within the United States."

That same magazine called the Newark riot "a new high in the Afro-Americans' surging freedom movement." It went on to say:

"More and more Afro-Americans have come to see that they must take the road of combating counter-revolutionary violence by revolutionary violence in order to win liberation for themselves.

"In many cities they have learnt to adopt guerrilla tactics to their struggle, keeping the numerically superior assulting police on the run and wearing them down."

In Great Britain, The Economist wrote:

"It takes a particular kind of obtuseness or perhaps colour blindness to refuse to see the relationship between revolt and blackness in America. Nevertheless, to New Jersey's Governor, the Newark riots have little to do with civil rights or oppression of Negroes. Rather, they are examples of open rebellion and criminal insurrection, largely the work of a lawless element who are "un-American". As proof, there are the police reports which indicate that many of those arrested for looting have previous criminal records. They have also all turned out to be black."

CAUSES

As causes for the riot, both the Peking Review and Radio Hanoi stressed the war in Vietnam. The former said:

"The continuous escalation of the Vietnam war has not only led to sky-rocketing prices for consumer goods and the worsening of the Afro-Americans' living standards, but has also cost more and more lives of Negro youths on the Vietnam battlefield."

Hanoi echoed this with:

"The miserable life of the Afro-Americans has awakened them. They clearly realize that the United States aggressive war in Vietnam has added to their sufferings. They clearly understand that liberty and liberation are not to be begged for; they must be wrested through resolute struggle and, if necessary, with blood."

The Economist, however, found reasons locally:

"The fact is that many of the urban Negroes in the North, particularly the younger men, have nothing to lose. The gain from rioting, on the other hand, is readily apparent: release of anger, notoriety, the curious kind of pride that accompanies creating headlines in newspapers all over the world, and some concrete show of protest against the white man and his rules. In the northern ghettos today, among the young residents, yesterday's freedom rides and sit-ins are only modern versions of 'Uncle Tomism'.

"Newark's liberal Mayor and the state's liberal Governor seem to be unaware of all this. They might just as well be a continent away from the 200,000 strong black colony at the centre of the city - half its population. Certainly the Negro leaders whom they consult have little contact with the poor who live in the midst of the ghetto and even less familiarity with young Negroes. Neither the Mayor nor the Governor have shown much perception of what it is that actually stirs the poor in the Negro community to anger. This, at any rate, is the view of the blacks in Newark."

EFFECTS

What will happen now? According to the Peking Review:

"As the internal class struggle in the United States sharpens, the Afro-American struggle by the use of violence will certainly grow and spread."

The Economist was not much more encouraging when it wrote:

"The result is that in the aftermath of the riots, the sense of bitterness is even more acute and more sharply focused. To the Negro youths and their parents the random shooting and the swagger of the National Guards reflected precisely the attitude of the white man towards the Negro."

It went on to say:

"There is some pride in the Negro community at the extent of the damage - almost pleasure that it is outranking that in Watts two years

ago and setting a new national mark. There are few who are so foolish as to think that matters will improve appreciably, but there is a wry symbolism in the meeting of advocates of 'black power' which is scheduled to take place in Newark this week among the ruins."

Break in page

Television and Radio coverage of the Newark riot allowed millions of people to see and hear the events which were occurring at that very instant in the strife-torn city. The viewing scope of the insurrection was tremendously magnified. The actual riot scenes were brought into the living rooms of millions. Consequently, the mass media had very definite effects on the riot. Constructively the mass media enabled the nation to witness the horrors of a city riot and also presented the actual occurrences of the outbreak while allowing the immediate citizenry the opportunity to voice their opinion. On the other hand, the mass media aided in the continuation and actually misled many concerning the riot while seeking sensational stories.

The television and radio people contend that they presented the truth to the American public. They maintain that through their efforts citizens across the nation could observe what was actually happening in our big cities. The mass media claim they enabled concerned individuals to see what could happen in any American city. They were acting only as public servants. Moreover the mass media coupled a voice with a view. The communications people maintain they allowed the common man the chance to express his opinions. Through television and radio interviews the public could perceive the outbreak of the citizenry involved. Furthermore television and radio gave Governor Hughes and Mayor Addonizio the opportunity to calm the citizens of Newark. Through the mass media the populace received the administrations' official policy and its official position. Mayor Addonizio only partly agrees with the mass media coverage.

The Mayor contends that in their coverage the networks "seek the vocal dissidents" and consequently are "unfair in their coverage". According to the Mayor the networks "seek sensationalism." Continuing the Mayor claims "The networks come in on the spur of the moment and naturally are unprepared, they have no real knowledge of the situations at hand."

Mayor Hetfield of Plainfield accuses the mass media of a crime greater than that of misleading. He states that the mass media actually prolonged the rioting. In a press statement Mayor Hetfield said, "The sensational coverage of the Newark riot showed persons looting stores while the police took no action to halt them. This view of looting appealed directly to the criminal and susceptible element. Knowledge or belief that there is or will be no law enforcement induces and encourages riots."

We are now confronted with a seemingly impasse. The networks, tenaciously holding the concept of presenting the whole truth, are pitted against the city government which, in order to curtail the rioting, does not want certain incidents seen by the criminal element. There is a solution to this dilemma. The solution lies in the mass media's allowance for a certain amount of editing. Television and radio should dilute those segments which could induce otherwise peaceful citizens to riot. The content of the mass media should emphasize the punishment of looters rather than their rewards. These answers may appear strict to the networks, but they could prove to be most advantageous in preventing a riot the size of Newark's!



Begin new page

NEGRO YOUTH DISCUSS
THE RIOT

1.

Whether the question be one of war or peace, crime or punishment, the draft, morals, or whatever, the youth of this generation have always taken a definite stand; the young men and women of Newark's central ward are no exceptions. They feel very strongly about the riot which plunged their homes and families into such turmoil, and, in most cases, they are willing to talk about it with anyone willing to listen.

I have worked with and been in close contact with the youth of the Central Ward for two years, and I have listened. What they have to say is both disturbing and encouraging. What follows is an account of their opinions, in their own words, concerning the riot. I hope that I have reported their testimony as accurately as possible. Their opinions, herein expressed, are not necessarily my own, but are very definitely those of their authors: Mary Moses, Malcom Harvey, Kenneth Sykes, Janice Edwards, Ernestine Davis, Jacqueline Jones, Larry Long, Danny Whitner, Brehita Taborne, Brenda Queen, and Roderick Bohannon. My sincere thanks are extended to them for their ready co-operation and frankness, and especially to Dan Whitner, whose assistance in arranging meetings and interviews was invaluable.

RETROSPECT: THE BLACK OUTLOOK

Our Lady Queen of Angels Parish, Newark, is located at the heart of the Central Ward, and is the largest and most active Black Roman Catholic Church in New

Jersey. Formerly St. Peter's, our church has changed from completely white to predominately black. In the nine year racial metamorphosis, Queen of Angels has established itself as one of the largest apostolates for black people in Newark. It has become a strong adversary to the hindrances of black people, a growing institution for black youth, and a healthy response to the need for Black Power. So far, in the increasing influx of Negroes to the Parish, we are proud to say that we have not decreased the "property value" of a former all-white church.

In general, the rebellion in Newark was, of course bloody, destructive, and deplorable, but the adjective that should be pondered is "necessary". Was the Newark rebellion necessary? Before a question such as this can be answered, it is vitally important for the onlookers, both black and white, to understand the meaning behind it.

First of all, as you may have realized, it has become quite common to call the past upheaval a rebellion instead of a riot. Webster defines a "riot" as any disturbance of tranquility, a wanton uproar of no purpose. To say that the past conflict disturbed tranquility would be, frankly, a bare-faced lie. Those who have any idea of what living in Newark is like know that it is anything but a utopia of tranquility. By the same process of elimination, to say that the summer's upheaval was pointless and directed at no ap-

parent goal, would also be quite untrue. There must be some reason in the deaths of twenty-six people and the exorbitant destruction of property. But to what purpose was the Newark rebellion?

It is known that some sympathetic news media have already "shocked" the white community with full coverage of the horrendous social conditions of Newark. This shock value lasted for a time, but soon drifted away. This happened possibly because white suburbanites simply could not make the link between the slum life and the rebellion. What was most likely thought was that this was more or less a cover up for a criminal insurrection. If this is the case, then, here and now, let it be stated that black people in Newark do not have to cover up or apologize for any actions in July, just as Mohandas Gandhi did not excuse himself for his effective actions against the British.

Imagine, if you can, that you did not have white skin and ~~the tough and horrible misfortune~~ you lived in the ~~ghetto~~ ghetto of the Central Ward in Newark. First of all, you would, of course, have to slash your yearly income in half, and in some cases, half again, as it is a well known fact that a large percentage of black families are hardly anywhere near the four-digit incomes of average middle class whites. As your family would be rather large, you would most likely be dependant upon the degrading system of welfare or expect to have nearly half the family secure a job.

With this wonderful beginning, you would then be plunged into a maelstrom of rising crime, shattered family life, unfavorable living conditions, lack of education, threats of disease and a ^{TORN} feeling of some racial animosity. You are then asked to exist in tranquility.

Maybe this is an exaggeration. In that case, look directly at the hard facts which hang over the city, which cannot be contracted into nothing or expanded into lies. In a city with a fifty-two per-cent Negro populace, some underlying cause must show why the black people are still considered lower class. It is an ^{INCONTESTABLE} ~~absolute~~ belief that intolerable social conditions warrant "self-respect break-down" which is clearly obvious among people.

Economic standards are the first to be pondered. In the Newark ghetto, there is no upper class, the highest average Negro can expect to attain is, possibly lower middle class. Any dreams of reaching upper middle income dies as the TV set is turned off. Many of us at Queen of Angels know, at one time or another, the stinging bite of hardship. Out of pride, it is still fashionable to mock those on welfare even though it is realized that this is slowly becoming the only solution to alleviate poverty.

What does this all mean? It means simply that there is a deep rooted malevolent seed among many of the black families in Newark. A seed that bears a blight of lawbreaking, unsanitation, moral breakdown and despair.

As one member of the Queen of Angels youth group puts it "It ain't go'n leave us no chance to grow".

Now the groundwork is laid for a rebellion. Although it may not be known, the city of Newark had experienced a near-riot years ago; the target-the 4th Precinct. Due to an incident involving the police and a young Muslim student, a mass of Negroes thronged about the 4th Precinct, hurled one rock through the window and finally dispersed when the Fire Department doused the crowd with water hoses. Why was there no "riot" in this instance? If "riots" are caused by the system the white community has outlined, then there should have been one.

There were "lawless" Negroes. there were violent sparks of action on action-seeking hot days, there were "rascist instigators," there was ^{RECIPROCAL} ~~reciprocal~~ violence on the part of the city. But still, no riot. A reasonable explanation for this was that conditions were not as bad and the community was not as aware of their condition as last summer. These can only be the answers. Would one suggest keeping the wool over the Negroes' eyes to prevent any racial strife? This seems absurd but it obviously seems to be what happened. The emphasis was placed on cajoling the people instead of taking action.

This must have been what happened. Why then did a minor incident such as the arrest of a cab driver touch off a holocaust when the beating and arresting of black students caused nothing more than a rock through the 4th Precinct window? It is obvious that

conditions must have switched from bad to atrocious with no thought in mind but to suppress this feeling in the minds of the black people. The only blame cast upon black power advocates should be that they dared to bring this to light in front of the Negro.

The rebellion began at 7:30 PM when someone, some unknown person, threw a soda bottle through the 4th Precinct window. This set off a violent chain reaction throughout the city. It is a definite and quite plausible fact that Negroes on a whole are, by nature, non-violent. It is not true that to say this with one breath, says with the same breath that only the "wanton" criminals were on the streets in July. On the streets, one might have found women who never missed a Sunday church, old men who sit on the porch and smile at the mailmen, eager Negroes just about to reach the lower middle class, young people who did not know the difference; in short, many black people who were not afraid and were touched in some way by poverty or racist behavior, but definitely not all criminals. Although it is generally felt to a large degree of plausibility that the rebellion was spontaneous, the actions of the rioters were in some degree systemized. First and foremost among the actions of the people was looting, then rioting or inflicting damage, then "hitting the dirt" each time the threat of danger appeared in the form of State Troopers and National Guardsmen. These actions seem to stay in close

alignment to the feelings of the Negroes. He looted because he vitally needed something to end material poverty, he damaged to show his disgust for ever being in such an intolerable situation, and of course, he hid because of the deep-seated fear of something that could hurt him and an outright expression of his wish not to actually become a reckless, violent barbarian.

Speaking of reckless violence, the most difficult point for the white suburbanites to see is that, possibly, just possibly, the riot-quelling forces used too much force in retaliation. A Chinese saying is that it is unwise to shoot a butterfly with a cannon. Hyperbolize for a moment the black people as being the butterfly in rebellion. Was it really necessary to call in State Troopers(the most hated of the group), National Guardsmen, other city police and a threat of Federal Troops? Was it necessary that James Frazier be multiply shot when found in a liquor store? What was the necessity of Billy Furr's death by shotgun for a six-pack of beer and Eloise Shellman's death sitting in her own living room? During the terrified air caused by the rebellion, the white community did not look at these things hard enough. Now that the air is cleared of minor revolutionary war and the "set whitey" sensationalism, does not the white community feel anything about these "riot control methods"?

If one individual is pointed towards most frequently in connection to the upheaval, it is the Honorable

Hugh J. Addonizio. Those on the left feel that the Mayor's administration was true cause for the rebellion and that his actions ^{were} ~~was~~ such as setting off a powder keg. On the right, it is believed that the Mayor lives in a dream world and was blinded by the blindfold he hoped to weave. Those on the middle feel that the Mayor's actions were perfectly justified and well planned. With all honesty, it is said that there are ^{FEW} very ~~little~~ on the middle.

Will there be a second rebellion in Newark? If so, will it be more tumultuous than the first? To answer such a question with a definite yes or no answer would be to choose one possibility and to totally reject the other. By now it is realized that most anything is possible. We at Queen of Angels youth group feel that not very much is being done to prevent a second conflagration and small ^sprinklings of antagonisms are instead feeding the flames. This question of police dogs before the city council meetings (which a few of us attended amidst the ^atmosphere of "get those niggers this time"), the near bankruptcy of the city, the problems which faced Newark before and still do. ~~Being~~ Being a pessimist, only a miracle can save Newark. and being an optimist, miracles can happen.

This is what they have to say. This is, for the most part, the way the young men and women of the central ward ^{FEEL ABOUT THE SUMMER RIOT.} I will not presume to defend what they

have said, nor will I attempt to refute it. The willingness to discuss the riot and the circumstances surrounding it was not unanimous, however. During one interview, a girl walked in on the proceedings unawares and, when asked to join the discussion, her only statement was "I'm just a little nigger girl that don't know nothing." In spite of the fact that I was pretty well known and accepted by that group, this girl's statement made me feel like an outsider, an intruder. When I later asked why the girl reacted the way she had, I was told that many young people in the riot zone felt the same way. They feel that they were unforgivably wronged, and as a white man I had no right to come and question their motives and thinking. Although I was certain that this girl was the only one present who felt this way, I sat in that room feeling discriminated against.

You can read for yourself, however, that most of these young people are sincerely concerned about what happened in their neighborhood. Since the riot, even I can see a change in them. They have developed a fierce pride in being black, a confidence in themselves and their race. They are beginning to understand the true nature of the problems which confront them, and are no longer satisfied to accept stock answers from the establishment or their own leadership. They are getting in shape to run things differently, hopefully for the better.

This past summer Newark suffered a racial scar that testified to the bloodiest ghetto uprising since Watts. The wound, severed and bloodied, exposed the Newark situation to the country, baring the immediate grievances and the great social ~~problems~~ ^{PROBLEMS:} the black ghetto spreading outward from the Central Ward that houses half the city's 400,000 population and harbors most of the problems that make Newark a textbook example of a city in crisis. The wound, now, is closed; but just what is being done to keep it from becoming festered, becoming a vile and ugly thing again?

Newark has nearly the worst of everything in urban America, the worst housing, the worst crime rate, ~~and~~ new tuberculosis cases every week, an unemployment rate so ~~high~~ high that it is one of only five U.S. cities that qualify for special economic aid. Beneath all the immediate grievances about police brutality and joblessness and slum housing, the riots represented the ~~separate~~ ^{separate} demanding from the city some answers. How successful has Newark been in seeking these answers? In the face of proposed answers what has the administration of Newark done to initiate them? Mayor Addonizio admitted little has been done to relieve the conditions that lead up to the riot up to this time. He has said the basic need at this time is money: money to ^{BE} utilized in furthering present programs, initiating new ones, and acquiring more highly trained individuals to run them. The ~~problem~~ ^{PROBLEM} here, for instance, is the \$4.3 million used to finance TEAM, a new job training program, the new State Medical School, the \$57 million apportioned to education versus an already high city tax, the vast set back caused by the riots plus the everyday finances.

Let's look at the causes for this racial "rebellion" and the attempts other riot torn cities are testing to remedy this frightful dilemma in relation to the action taken by Newark.

Employment:

Job training programs should be expanded as fast as possible. A ghetto cleanup program should be geared to both the immediate needs of the ghetto(garbage removal, recreational facilities, street and sidewalk repair, demolition of derelict buildings and the like) and the long term training of those employed. Many mayors across the country have taken up the challenge with energy and imagination. New York's John Lindsay walked the ghettos in person to show his concern, tapping industry for \$500,000 for summer jobs and recreational programs. Detroit's Mayor Jerome Cavanagh bagged \$1.1 million in Federal summer poverty funds for a wide range of work and play programs-among them a corps of 475 ghetto teen-agers who help the police guard crossing and spot minor parking and housing infractions. Mayor Louis J. Tullio of Erie, Pa. pressed for and won City Council approval for \$115,000 in emergency funds to begin a program of expanding Negro job opportunities and recreational facilities in the city. However, some action taken by well-meaning mayors have been less successful. It was clearly a case of bigotry and indifference that rebuffed their modest proposals. In Mount Vernon, N.Y. Mayor Joseph Vaccarella proposed that some 200 slum residents be hired at salaries of up to \$100 a week and put to work at unspecified community projects. Residents protested violently and Mayor Vaccarella was finally forced to abandon the whole scheme. Mayor John Lindsay forged ahead with plans to build eleven low-income

housing projects in predominately white middle class sections of the city. Distinct bigotry ran rampant in every such community. Houston's Mayor Louie Welch hoped to scour up 7000 summer jobs from the city's business community-but he had only 710 to offer when his Job Fair opened for a crowd of 4,000 applicants. An Atlanta job program drew 15,000 applications for 3,000 jobs. Our own mayor, for one, doubting whether middle class whites really care enough to make the required sacrifices, has said "Affluent Americans are gripped more by the need to buy a vacation home, a sports car for their college-bound son and a second color -TV set than they are with sharing their affluence with the poor."

A few months back Mayor Addonizio called upon the business to produce 500 jobs for the poor people and pledged the city to take 500 persons into jobs and training positions. He called the city's pledge "an example of our own commitment to the team project" and said that this kind of government-private business employment program "is really what urban coalition is all about."

The mayor's remarks were made at a day-long "Mayor's Conference on Economic Development" which was sponsored by the city Department of Economic Development. In his speech he said the city government is endeavoring to do its part and cited obtaining \$42 million for manpower training and \$200 million for urban renewal and housing as examples. He said the city is also striving for funds to pursue a feasibility study on the possibility of establishing a multipurpose center and arena in Newark

which could bring \$30 million into the economy and establish 700 new jobs. In a recent interview with the mayor he said that \$4.3 million has been apportioned ~~to the~~ TEAM job training program headed by city administration and city business leaders in which 1,200 men are now being employed and trained.


Housing

To provide maximum housing at a minimum cost is the goal of housing projects. In public housing, short term emphasis should concentrate on rehabilitation of rundown slum dwellings. In order to provide more units cheaper and faster, unnecessary^{ily} rigid rehabilitation standards should be made more flexible. In addition, new funds should be set aside for "sweat equity" rehabilitation projects in which the poor can do enough of the construction work themselves to earn the equivalent of a down-payment. Housing in Newark is one of the most serious problems. Newark has criticized the Federal Housing Administration for a "restrictive nature" which has stifled some would-be effective projects. However, the FHA has taken on a new ~~image~~^{image}, spurred no doubt by the riots. It has issued mortgage commitments for construction of garden apartments costing \$3.6 million for the two sites in the Central Ward. Insurance companies have set up a pool of \$1 billion for investments in redevelopment programs in the slums. The first housing project to be undertaken under this arrangement is scheduled for Newark ~~where~~^{where} the Prudential Insurance Co. is underwriting mortgage commitments for 270 apartments that will be known as University Gardens

Newark is now under the Model Cities' program which will be supervised under a Community Development Administration, to be headed by Donald Malafonte. The program is to be launched with

local funds with reimbursement later by the federal government. The city must submit its detailed plans for a coordinated social, economic and physical renewal attack on sections of the Central, West and North Wards within a year.

Plans have been made for one of the first housing projects in which Negroes will be the guiding force. The proposed renewal area is 17 acres in Newark's Central Ward, bounded by Bergen Street, Springfield and 15th Avenues. Its estimated population of 1700 residents is almost exclusively Negro. Despite measures such as these the demand for more adequate housing is overwhelming.

Is Newark's housing ^{PROBLEM} ~~problem~~ insolvable? 

Education

A Reading Summer, to provide intensive instruction for children, would not only give them the basic skill and help in school but would also keep them off the streets. Police Director Spina has said "Our educational system is one of the worst in the state." He has noted a "distinct lack of discipline and respect for authority in our schools." A federal survey has reported 10,000 dropouts in Newark, the bulk of them in the Central Ward. He added, "You can't blame this administration for the lack of schools, that should have been built during the last 50 years. You can't teach 50 or 60 kids in a single class." He had ~~had~~ a project to bring clubs and supervised recreation into areas where none had existed before, but ~~that~~ the United Community Corporations had been unable to find funds for it. So far Newark's answer to this situation is the approval by the Newark Board of Education of a

1968-69 operating budget of \$57 million which the Mayor said will help relieve the classroom shortage, though an estimated \$200 million would really be needed.

Biot Control

This is the most controversial issue of all riot measures. The image the police should reflect/should look something like this: *from style* the first objective of the police department must be to prevent a minor incident from escalating into a major riot. Police down to the cop on the beat must be trained to handle routine ghetto area arrests with maximum possible speed and minimum possible force. Where a flare-up does occur, police must be ready with tactical plans, lines of command and communications with the mayor in control. The police should be given far more sophisticated training in controlling arson and looting and in snuffing out street warfare. For example, snipers should be dealt with by crack police marksmen, not by random fusillades. *[Signature]*

New York has its own highly trained riot specialists-the Tactical Patrol Force."One reason that El Barrio (Spanish Harlem) did not go the way of Newark and Detroit," reported Newsweek's Hal Bruno "may have been the Tactical Patrol Force which stopped the looting before it even started." Police in Newark did not have sufficient strength on hand to prevent the early stages of looting which encouraged the entire ghetto to join in. In far-off corner of Fort Belvoir, Va, a mock-up town called " Riotsville, U.S.A.", the Army staged demonstrations of restrained riot-control techniques. But in the riot cities, the visible emphasis seemed to be on an all out restraint. In Detroit, officials were working up details of a

proposed \$2 million bond issue for new police equipment such as 100 Army -type carbines, 100 rapid fire machine guns , 25 infrared equipped sniper rifles, eight armed personnel carriers, gas grenades gas masks and bulletproof vests.

Working with funds supplied by private grants, probers of this summer's riots have found a four-step pattern of escalation into which they have fallen

Precipitating event. This is a minor incident that usually involves the police and arouses the Negro community.

Confrontation. Rumors about the incident spread and an angry crowd forms.

Roman Holiday Negro youths in a carnival like mood loot, break windows and harass police to release inner tensions,

Street warfare. The carnival has ended and adults step in to loot , set fires, and begin sniper fire.

Riots may be terminated in the second and third steps by , in the former, having city officials effectively communicate with the crowds as did Mayor Lindsay of New York, and in the latter by not trying to squelch it with the heavy hand of the police that might provoke adult support.

It seems that Newark is not taking the extreme view of riot control as have many other riot cities. Its more diplomatic approach, appeal for support from all, limited replenishment and surplus supply of anti-riot arms, which were seen to be sorely inadequate and a minimum show of force were certainly made evident during Halloween. There had been widespread fear that

"mischief night" might start anew wave of looting and vandalism. A meeting between Mayor Hugh Addonizio, Police Director Dominick Spina, Superintendent of Schools Franklyn Titus and a new group the Voice of Ministers called for important measures to be taken. One measure was the hosting of dozen of Halloween parties throughout the city to get the youngsters off the streets. The meeting also set up a ten o'clock curfew for children under sixteen, to postadditional police officers and appeal for cooperation from parents and school principals.

Another Newark innovation was the appointment of Capt. Edward Williams, a Negro, as ^{CAPTAIN OF THE 4th PRECINCT} ~~chief of police-community relations~~.

Another subject of evaluation in riot control is a small can of spray which ^{shots} forth a tear gas-like liquid. The spray which has an effective maximum range of twenty feet and covers a very small area(20 in.) is a chemical irritant designed to instantaneously and temporarily incapacitate a demonstrator. The Newark Police Department has not positively affirmed Mace's (as it is popularly known) effectiveness as a law enforcement tool, but is nevertheless "contemplating and evaluating its use," according to Director Spina. However, the experiments are apparently proving favorable-the department has ordered two hundred and fifty cases of mace.

Less successful has been other attempts in riot control to curb the violence of angry mobs. Under Negro and white counterpressures, the city Council reversed itself three times on the question of a K-9 dog cop in the Police Department. The K-9 proposal was finally referred to a committee for "study".

The only way to relieve Negro tension in Newark is far-reaching legislature in the City Council and an awareness by the people

that such help is being made available to them. On the other hand
if ^{OUTBREAKS} ~~outbreaks~~ of violence do occur, ^{they} ~~it~~ should be handled in the
swiftest, surest, and most effective ^{MANNER} ~~manner~~ under the leadership
of one man, without a subdivision of control leading to confusion.

I can't say that these are clear-cut solutions to the racial
conditions existing in Newark or were they meant to be. The vio-
lence and tension of the city can only be suppressed with time,
Negro patience and white awareness to their problems & with money,
federal funds, community funds, private business contributions,
but without prejudice and bigotry, the greatest enemy of the
Negro cause, and the inducer of all racial violence.

CRIMINAL INSURRECTION

As J. Edgar Hoover, director of the F.B.I. said, "In a riot there are no victors. The losers include everybody--the rioters, the victims, law enforcement, the community, the State and the Nation."

What exactly caused the Newark riots will still probably keep historians puzzled for the next few years, but there can be no doubt that the rise of ^acriminal insurrection was a great part in the riot itself. The looters and vandals were not robbing and destroying because of civil rights, but because of the willful^d desire to commit mayhem^e and commit it, they did. There were too many looters and snipers to be handled alone by the police. "The F.B.I.", as agent Jim Stacy said, "were only bystanders." They could not act unless federal laws were broken. So the city asked for the help of the National Guard.

To get into statistics, there were almost twelve hundred arrests during the five nights and days of rioting. Twenty-four looters and snipers were killed. Approximately eight hundred looters were wounded.

To name a few of the most infamous looters and describe some of the tragedies would show how really terrible the riots were.

A case in point:

William Furr Jr. and a few of his friends were taking some beer by the case from a liquor store broken into the day before. ~~Then~~ ^A police car sped up to Mack Liquors, (a block down from the corner of Avon and Livingston) and helmeted, shotgun-~~carrying~~ ^{testing} police got out. There hadn't been any warning. The siren was off. For the looters in the store, there was no place to run. But Billy was outside the store with beer in his left hand. He had been arrested before. This time he ran. The policeman pointed his rifle. He aimed. He fired. Billy fell down. He died shortly after ^{ward} on his way to the hospital. When the policeman fired, two of his runaway pellets hit a little boy, Joe Bass. He was struck in the neck and thigh. Joey was put in an ambulance and taken to the hospital. "From the pictures in Life magazine and the cover photo, he looks dead. But he has recovered and is doing well", stated Cleave Ledford, a Newark policeman.

Mayor Addonizio agreed with the theory that the Newark rioting was a planned situation, and that rioters were led by criminal conspirators, some of them outsiders. Governor Richard Hughes of New Jersey ~~agreed~~ ^{concurred}. Both cited a figure showing that six hundred sixty-two of the one thousand three hundred eighty-one Negroes arrested

had "criminal records "; in almost half of these cases, the records consisted only of arrests and no convictions.

Was there any truth about the intervention of outside Negroes? I ~~think~~^{believe} so, and so does Cleave Ledford, a Newark policeman. "Of the Negroes arrested, forty-six were from New York, carrying weapons. There were reports of twenty carloads of Negroes with arms, coming from Detroit, but it was never proven", he said. The Newark snipers belonged to a group formed by young civil rights workers in Mississippi in 1965. All decided to give up non-violence.

One of the snipers said there were more than fifty members of this group now active in and around the city. More than half of them were from Newark. Others had been moved in for the action from California, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.

When this sniper was asked why so few police were killed(two), he said, "Why kill for no reason? Five or six shots in the air were enough to draw cops thick as fleas on a day and still give time to get away. We had other things on our minds than killing.

"The important thing is our people know we're here. Will they follow? Damn right, they'll follow. They're getting what they want, aren't they? While

the police are busy tearing buildings apart looking to kill snipers, our people are getting color television sets, refrigerators, clothes-whatever they couldn't afford, they got it."

Were the rioters organized in any way? The police think so, ~~and it has been proven that they were~~. A book was published, written by Gary Allen called The Plan. This book showed how the Negroes intended to riot from coast to coast, and the amount of time between riots and the locale of the next insurrection.

^{Unfortunately}
I was unable to obtain a copy.

One ^{aspect} ~~way~~ in which the police think ~~that the rioters~~ ^{was} ~~were~~ organized ^{was} ~~is~~ the way in which they ^{rioters} ~~acted~~. They weren't ^{stupid} ~~stupid~~. They figured ^{out} ~~how~~ long the police would take to get to where they were going and just how much time they had to get away. ^{In addition} ~~Also~~, fake phone calls hampered the police. The police would receive a call about a looting. They would drive to where ^{it supposed ly} ~~the looting~~ ^{and} ~~was to have occurred~~, ^{and they} ~~when~~ they got out of the car, they were fired upon. These phone calls were probably diversions intended to draw police away from the riotous areas, ~~These incidents~~ occurred frequently.

Were the police wise in using violence?" Stern, decisive action is needed when a street disturbance begins. Justice is not served when a growing horde of vandals and looters is appeased and their pillage overlooked lest a show of force might provoke them to greater violence!. Procrastination or uncertainty on the part of authorities denotes weakness to a mob. Thus the offenders are encouraged, and their violence gains momentum." These are the words of J. Edgar Hoover. He also said, "Those who break the law, acting alone or in concert, must be detected and arrested, promptly prosecuted, and given proper, substantial punishment. In halting riots and removing crime from our Nation's streets, this should be the first order of business."

A famous court case that has sprung forth from the Newark riots, concerns one ~~named~~ Le Roi Jones. He is a Negro poet and playwright. ~~He~~ He attended a Newark Black Power conference and was later arrested for carrying a weapon. He described the Newark riots as "a rebellion of black people for self-determination." At the conference he went on to declare: "This meeting

is of no value unless you condemn the city government of Newark. The Italians who are running this city aren't equipped to run our lives. These dogs treat us like animals. We're not animals. They are. We're beautiful. These dogs are here to kill you. The next time, don't break into liquor stores. Go where you can get something to defend yourselves." Because of prejudice in Newark, he asked for a change of venue. He was tried in Morristown. ~~He was~~ found guilty of carrying a deadly weapon, ^{but} ~~he~~ hasn't been sentenced yet, ^{he} ~~but~~ will be in February. He is presently being sued for statements he made concerning police brutality.

The ghetto has been described by Newsweek Magazine as "another country, the land behind the looking glass... the dark side of the moon." It is indeed, the place where "a minority within a minority"... lives. People of the ghetto have only one concern, basic survival. Living is literally a day to day struggle, ~~and worst of all, most "Americans" would not call the~~ ghetto life living.

Many Americans, in particular New Jersey Governor Richard Hughes, Detroit Mayor Jerome Cavanaugh and Los Angeles Mayor Samuel Yorty, were appalled by the festive atmosphere in ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{their} strife torn ~~sections~~ ^{cities} which were their responsibility.

To them, and to the general public, it all seemed ^{as if} ~~like~~ the Negro ^{regarding} ~~was looking~~ on each riot as though ~~it was~~ a great care-free carnival where everything was theirs, literally, for the taking. Such a thought is highly erroneous. In the words of Newsweek

".... the riots are rebellions, the rioters not criminals at all but freedom fighters of an oppressed, beleaguered, powerless colony of the white world downtown." These statements are not mere opinion, ^{ADD} ~~for there is steel solid fact behing them.~~ ^{Sentences enclosed} At

the present time, there is not a single national program existing that can help the black people solve their economic and social problems. According to Tom Hayden and his book Rebellion in Newark, "During the height of the rioting in Newark and Detroit, Congress discussed gun control laws, voted down with chuckles a bill for rat extermination and President Johnson set up a commission to do more investigating of the crisis". Hayden states further,

"The main emphasis of governmental remedial programs seems likely to be on ending the riots rather than dealing with the racial and economic problem." He backs this opinion up with a startling quote from President Johnson made during his televised July ~~28~~ ^{address of} ~~twenty eighth address~~, the last line of which says, ".... not to analyse but to end disorder." And what does the average white American have to say about this? During the weekend of the Newark riot, a man said to the author of this chapter, "Well, I guess they're treated better here than any other place in the world". Fantastic! ~~This is an average white American citizen off the street who made such a totally ignorant statement.~~ The only place where Negroes are technically treated worse is South Africa, where the theory of apartheid is in practice. Even so, several Negro leaders have claimed that apartheid is actually better, for then the black man knows exactly where he stands. In America, where the double standard in social justice differs with geography, even this "convenience" is denied. Another statement which one often hears from white Americans concerns itself with the fact that all the minority groups of the past, the Italians, the Irish, the Jews, et al, have been able to pull them selves free of the much ridden ghetto's strangle hold by sheer grit,

unwavering determination, and honest hard work. The sad fact of the matter is, however, that such an accomplishment is a physical impossibility for the black man. ~~If such was the case, then the Negro who chopped cotton from sun rise to sundown would be a millionaire suburban homeowner, a pertinent fact pointed out by Mr. Hayden, the aforementioned author.~~ "Self help does not build housing, hospitals and schools," ^{Mr. Hayden} he states. Once again, fact backs his educated opinion. Bureau of Labor statistics, released right after the Newark riot, placed unemployment rates at 7.2 percent for the Negro in general, and 24.8 percent for the Negro youth. According to Newsweek, "Ghetto housing is a disaster; 43 percent of it is sub standard and overcrowded. Government slum clearance programs have leveled 700,000 dwelling since 1937, replaced them with only 600,000 public housing units (plus a good many middle income towers) and thus accelerated the squeeze on the slum's moldering, rat ridden tenements. Ghetto schools area a failure, more segregated now than they were in 1954 and tragically ill equipped to deal with the children of the city of destruction. Children are bucked along from grade to grade until

they graduate - or drop out, as nearly half do. Time Magazine states, in addition, "... no less than 32.6 per cent of the city's (Newark) housing is substandard, according to a 1962 study." Furthermore, Time relates that ("Newark today spends \$277 per capita on repairing urban blight - the highest annual figure for the nation's 50 biggest cities. Newark officials claim an overall unemployment figure of 7%, down from 14% when Addonizio took over city hall and Newark has 125 federal poverty workers who spent \$2,000,000 last year on community action projects...") But where are any visible results? The mayor even went to great lengths it seems, to contradict his original good intentions. Two years ago Mayor Addonizio designated 46 acres of the Central Ward as the new campus of the New Jersey State College of Medicine and Dentistry. Fine. Only 3,500 Negroes would have to leave their below standard homes to find space where there was none already. Not content with this folly, a proposal to extend two interstate highways through downtown Newark might have displaced 20,000 more Negroes.

Anyone who accumulates these facts and adds to them the basic injustice which has gone on

for years, the struggle of white society to maintain white superiority and black inferiority, the ^{possible} ~~actual~~ brutality of bigoted police, ~~(there has been some genuine police injustice, regardless of what is said)~~ and the feeling of utter despair, aptly pointed out by Time when it used a current record by Lou Rawles entitled "Dead End Street", can realize that the seemingly trivial incidents which ignited the fiascos were but the proverbial match held to the brimming powder keg. In Detroit, it was a police raid on an after hours speakeasy in an abandoned second floor office; in Watts, the arrest of Marquette Frye, a high school dropout, for drunken driving; and finally in Newark, the arrest and ^{alleged} beating of cab driver John Smith ~~for cutting off a double parked police car~~, coupled with the rumor that Smith's beating led to his death. All three were nothing major, to be sure, but ~~they~~ were the "straw" that broke the camel's back" coming at the wrong place at the wrong time.

The saddest part of this chapter, however, is the ending, for there is no hopeful phrase or encouraging fact that can be written. The pitiful truth of the matter is, on the contrary, that no effort has been made in Detroit, Watts, or Newark to prevent

further rioting, but this you have read earlier in this chapter. Consider if you will the result of the previously listed facts concerning the dearth of improvement in the conditions of the ghetto, and ask yourself this question, " Can it happen again?" You had best believe it, and unless something, anything — is done to help black people in not just Newark, but in all of the United States, full scale war may erupt.

~~used like to~~
~~It's sum up~~ In the words of J. Edgar Hoover:

"Causes of riots can be counted by the score. A study of the overall problem indicates, however, that the widespread violence in our country to some degree is a direct outgrowth of the civil disobedience movement. In recent years, some leaders of dubious stature, have made a gesture of willfully violating laws they deem to be unjust. For the most part, these individuals, although admittedly guilty of breaking the law, have gone unpunished. Young thugs and mis-

guided teenagers, seeing others defy authority and the courts with impunity, have been led to believe that any crime under a banner of complaints is justified. Consequently, they ignore the law and roam through their communities creating violence and terror. Certainly, those who espouse the theory of civil disobedience and authorities who free guilty violators must share a portion of the blame and responsibility for the turmoil in our streets. It should be abundantly clear that the doctrine of civil disobedience is a doctrine of self-destruction."

New Chapter

NEGRO RADICAL VIEW

No report on the events which took place in Newark would be complete without presenting the view of the dissident, radical Negroes. These are the militant, "freedom now" civil rights advocates. They are found basically in such organizations as S.N.C.C., the Black Liberation Center, the Black Muslims, and the Black Man's Voluntary Army of Liberation. In Newark, however, the radicals also made up parts of such "moderate" groups as C.O.R.E., N.A.A.C.P. and even the government's poverty corporation, U.C.C. It is my purpose in this article to present the radical view and role concerning the Newark riots.

To begin with we must see why the colored people of Newark resorted to the violence, looting and killing advocated by the radicals. Senator Edward Brooke, colored Senator from Massachusetts, offered a possible explanation at the N.A.A.C.P. convention last July 21. Brooke said, "More and more Negroes have come to believe that progress is possible only through militant action, that moderation has failed to accomplish enough to satisfy the objectives of the civil rights movement. Black Power is a response to white irresponsibility." It was this feeling of frustration and anger at the slow-moving pace of the local moderate civil rights organizations that caused many Black Newarkers to seek a group that would make Black Power a reality. Black people know that the very words "Black Power" strike fear into the hearts of the white community and the military power of dissident radicals is something they can see and feel. A speech by Dick Gregory, Negro comic, expressed

these feelings. He said, "The words 'Black Power' upset whitey because he thinks they mean the same thing as 'White Power'---- napalm bombs, cheating and killing. If whitey thinks he is going to send me to Vietnam to risk my life for instant freedom for a man who looks more like me than he (whitey) does while my wife and kids back home get freedom on the installment plan, he has got to be sick." These words sum up Black Power as a challenging of the white system in response to its slow movement forward in civil rights matters. It was this feeling of pressure and revolution that was spread among the colored youths specially in the months preceding the riots.

The role of the radical was perhaps even more key in the months preceding the riots than during the riots themselves. The signs of preparation and unrest among the radicals did not appear suddenly on July 1st. The signs were there if one cared to examine them. Writing in the Newark News on July 16, 1967 staff writer Douglas Eldridge, a civil rights veteran wrote of the signs evident to him as early as the fall of 1966. Eldridge stated that he noticed more organization of the colored masses, whites being kept away from the new Black Liberation Center and rumors that Newark was becoming an "armed camp". According to Eldridge militant groups, including black nationalists and even militaristic organizations, a new element in Newark, began pushing to the fore and goading old-line civil rights and political leaders into more aggressive stands. Statements and leaflets were becoming steadily stronger. If we combine this article with one written by Philip Hutchings, Newark field director of S.N.C.C. on May 27, a few weeks before the

riots, we can reach some interesting conclusions. Hutchings reporting in National Guardian on the outlook for the summer in Newark, then a "model-city", wrote, "...Two other activist groups fairly new to Newark are the Black Liberation Center and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. The Black Liberation Center has opened an office in the heart of the Central Ward ghetto, is fighting to prevent the construction of a medical center which would remove 22,000 residents from their homes. Through leafletting, block meetings and sound trucks B.L.C. organizers have made the medical center the major issue in the black community. They have built, at least temporarily, a coalition of organizations and individuals from moderate to radical. Colonel Hassan and his Black Man's Voluntary Army of Liberation are supporting the Liberation Center in its struggle to stop the 'urban removal' of black people from one of their bases of potential power in this city, which is more than 54% black. The feelings of these groups is summed up by a S.N.C.C. spokesman who said, 'What we are going to do this summer is organize around the right of black people to fight back, in every way they can!' " How prophetic this article was! We can see that the black community of Newark, formerly unorganized and confused, seemed to be rallying around very radical and militaristic groups. The medical center controversy, which these groups brought to a head, was to become perhaps the major bone of contention in the riot situation. Colonel Hassan Jeru Hamid, the militaristic leader mentioned in Hutchings' article was cited by

many people as the most active leader in inciting the riots. He was present at almost every demonstration preceding the riot yet he suddenly disappeared when the actual riot started. Other signs of radical organization were seen during the riots. In testifying before the Senate Committee on gun control Attorney General Ramsey Clark said radicals in Newark were receiving guns through the mails. As the riot approached it appeared that the radicals had truly been able to establish fighting units of black men.

It is hard to find specific incidents involving radical organizations during the riots. Looters do not carry signs. Some of the organizations involved were spotted and later pointed out. On July 13, nineteen people were hurt in an area between downtown Newark and East Orange when several East Orange policemen scuffled with Black Muslims. Colonel Hamid and his army were reported to have been very active in the incidents surrounding the Fourth Precinct. One lieutenant in the Black Liberation Army standing on the steps of the Fourth Precinct House allegedly said, "I've got one hundred and fifty people doing what I say. And we're coming back tonight. And that place ain't going to be here after that." One organization whose radicals seemed to be quite active, surprisingly enough, was the United Community Corporation, the administration branch of the Office of Economic Opportunity in Newark. Mayor Hugh Addonizio told investigators for the House Education and Labor Committee that members of the U.C.C. issued inflammatory statements and termed the organization "a haven for dissidents". Addonizio also hinted that anti-poverty money was

being diverted into riot funds. Rep. James Gardner (R. N.C.) said tie-ins between anarchists and the Office of Economic Opportunity across the country are leading to patterned riots. Councilman Frank Addonizio said he had seen similar tie-ins in riots in Buffalo, N. Y. and Durham, N. C.

The color and spirit of the radicals is most often derived from their leadership. For this reason I feel that it is my duty to present a picture of the sentiments and activities of some of the radical leaders involved in the Newark riots. Three men stand out as key figures in this insurrection. Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown and Leroy Jones deserve close scrutiny as to their parts in the fomentation and execution of last July's disturbances.

Let us first focus our attention on Stokely Carmichael, former head of S.N.C.C., world-known revolutionary and most loquacious proponent of the militaristic, radical approach to racial problems. Carmichael flew to London on July 15, after the riots had begun and denied any part in the riots. Rumors have it, however, that Carmichael was very active in inciting the riots. He reportedly visited and communicated with S.N.C.C. leaders in Newark for several months before the riots. He allegedly was in Newark just before the outbreak of violence stirring up unrest. These allegations seem quite plausible since Carmichael has been linked to several riots in recent years including Cleveland and Watts. Carmichael's statements following the riots also indicate that he was all in favor of it. Carmichael

stated, "There is no need to go to Vietnam and shoot somebody who a honkey says is your enemy. We're going to shoot the cops who are shooting our black brothers in the back, in this country."

Carmichael then continued on his world tour meeting with Communist revolutionaries and French insurrectionists.

H. Rap Brown, present head of S.N.C.C., seemed to take a rather unusual stand in the riots. Word had it that he had been supporting militant groups in Newark yet when the trouble started Brown made almost a complete about-face. He charged official neglect was forcing Negroes to rebel and warned against attempts to suppress the riots with force yet he spent almost an entire week walking the streets trying to "cool" the trouble. Some observers thought that this was only a front, however.

Best known anarchist and most involved radical in this area was Leroi Jones, thirty-two year old poet-playwright. Jones had demonstrated his desire for violence in such past statements as, "I love America, I hate its system. I would destroy the system if I could tonight." He has advised Negro students to "smash their jelly-white faces". It was not much of a surprise therefore when in the height of the riots Jones and two companions were pulled from a Volkswagen by police and found to be carrying two .32 caliber pistols. Jones has since been tried and convicted on these charges and along with his two cronies, McCray and Wynn, has begun to serve time at the State Penitentiary in Trenton. Jones' trial was closely covered by all media and was highlighted by Jones being escorted from a Morristown court (a change of venue had been ordered) screaming, "This is a kangaroo court" and "these people (jurors) are not

my peers but my oppressors". Jones earlier had said, "We will govern ourselves-or no one will govern Newark, N. J." Jones also criticized Newark's Negro leadership as hand-picked "wind-up toys" of City Hall.

An interesting point is that no radical leader considered the Newark disturbances a riot. Here is what they termed them. Leroi Jones, when appointed the head of a new group, the Newark Black Survival Committee said, "These events were not a riot or criminal action but a rebellion against brutality and legalized evil that exist within the City of Newark." H. Rap Brown stated "Counter-revolutionary violence will be met with revolutionary violence." Stokely Carmichael labeled violence in Newark as a rebellion and likened it to the American Revolutionary War against the British. He said fighting in Newark was guerilla warfare by Negroes seeking retribution against white oppressors. He was speaking to a group in London known as "The International Congress On The Dialectics of Liberation and Demystification of Violence". We can see from these statements that the militaristic radical regarded the Newark riots as simply another phase of a rebellion by the nation's black people.

Perhaps a strange source offers to us an explanation and warning considering the radical Negro role in the Newark riots and all such future outbreaks. The Peking Review of July 28, 1967 said, "Bitter and hard lessons are quickening the awakening of the Afro-Americans, especially the youth. As the internal class struggle in the U. S. sharpens the Afro-American struggle by the use of violence will certainly grow and spread."

The Newark Riots---How The Moderate Negroes View A Tragedy

"The thing to get straight is that civil rights is a white problem, not a black one. Segregation, deprivation, alienation of the black man, these are all caused by the white majority in America. If change is to come, it can only be brought about by the people who have the power to make decisions, that is, by the white community." This statement appeared in the Economist on July 22, 1967, and presents the basic attitude of the moderate Negroes concerning the Newark riots and the cause of this tragedy. Listening to the suggestions and opinions of various "moderate Negroes", one can clearly see that there is a feeling of discontent among these people. They feel that they have been oppressed. They warn that trouble will continue unless their demands are met in the near future. They no longer desire to believe the "great white lie" that criminal insurrection actually caused the Newark riots, for they know that outsiders, the so-called criminal element, had little to do with the poor housing and mounting unemployment.

In this section an attempt will be made to present that moderate attitude which declares that the riots are more a cry of rage, frustration, and vengeance than anything else. The constructive comments of the leaders from organizations such as the Congress of Racial Equality(CORE) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People(NAACP) will be examined and considered essential to the development of this attitude toward the riots.

It seems first of all that the Negro leaders had definitely attempted to warn Mayor Addonizio and the city officials of the prevailing danger which existed in the ghetto sections of Newark prior to the disaster.

A short time after the culmination of the outburst, Whitney M. Young Jr., executive secretary of the National Urban League, stated that "the causes of the Newark riots were spelled out well in advance in the city's application for funds under the 'model cities' program." This was indeed the case. The facts are quite obvious. Newark had, and still faces, the highest percentage of substandardized housing, the most crime per 100, 000 of population, the heaviest per capita tax burden, the sharpest shifts in population and the highest rate of venereal disease, new cases of tuberculosis and maternal mortality. Newark also is second among major cities in population density, second in infant mortality, second in birth rate, and seventh in absolute numbers of drug addicts. Mr. Young concluded his statement by simply saying, "This was the scene of the rioting. Can there be any doubt as to why the riots occurred?" I believe that if we are to answer truthfully this question we cannot say "criminal insurrection" or "Communist plot" as a response. Those who would have us believe this are merely attempting to confuse the issues and mislead the public and thus avoid the actual situation.

If these are not the answers, what do the people themselves feel caused the widespread destruction? Let us go first to the leaders of the NAACP and observe what they consider the reason for the disaster. It was announced in the Newark News on July 16 that the NAACP had adopted an emergency resolution putting much of the blame on Newark city officials. The resolution went on to say that Mayor Addonizio had blundered in his effort to "appoint an unqualified white man over an exceptionally qualified Negro to a post in the Board of Education in the face of a unified demand from the Negro community." The mayor re-

torted a few days later that it was the influence of the Students for Democratic Society in the controversial UCC that apparently was the agitating force in the antipoverty program.

It seems evident that the NAACP desired greatly that city officials investigate the heart of the problem and discontinue their efforts to remain on the surface level. Sally G. Carroll, president of the Newark NAACP chapter, stated her feelings on July 19 by saying that one could connect the cause of the riot to "decades of frustration and denials and the people having no voice." She warned, as did her associates, that unless something drastic is done about the poor housing, the rat infested slums, the inferior education, and the high unemployment, the same situation, the same bundle of wood awaiting the tiniest spark, would still be present. As soon as Governor Richard Hughes appointed a "blue-ribbon" committee to investigate the riots, the NAACP opposed the majority of the committee members. Mrs. Smith, president of the New Jersey NAACP chapter, specifically opposed the appointment of former Governor Meyner to the committee. She based her opposition on the fact that he "is legal counsel for Englehard Industries of Newark," which she stated, "subsidizes racial apartheid in South Africa." The organization (NAACP) said that it "strongly opposed the racial and economic background" of those assigned to the committee. It was upset over the fact that there was no one from Newark, where the riots actually occurred, appointed.

Finally, in regard to the NAACP and how it functioned during the riots, we find that a constructive proposal was formulated by Philip Savage, NAACP director for New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. Mr. Sav-

age proposed five ideas which he believed would help alleviate the existing problem in Newark. He suggested:

- 1) that former Deputy Attorney Love be retained to represent Negroes in cases of alleged police brutality;
- 2) that a meeting with Governor Hughes was imperative;
- 3) that a strategy meeting be held on July 29 in Military Park Hotel;
- 4) that there be a definite assurance that the proposed investigatory board suggested by the governor to determine the causes of the riot be predominantly Negro;
- 5) that two college professors be hired to conduct an independent survey as to "why?".

These have been the ideas of one organization, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, considered to be a moderate group reflecting moderate views. From here, we will concern ourselves with other Negro "moderate" organizations and individuals who are influential in the Negro community.

One will continually notice that throughout the entire presentation of this moderate attitude a feeling is rendered that neither the Mayor nor the Governor have shown much perception of what it is that actually stirs the poor in the ghettos to anger. At the Black Power Conference held in Newark, James Farmer, former national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, stated his concern over the happenings in July: "These kinds of revolts and rebellion are a tragedy, but we can use tragedies as a learning experience. Neighborhoods explode because they are like underprivileged colonies without control of their own

economy and political life." Referring to the two big controversies which the Negroes have with the city officials (the clearance of forty-six acres in the Central Ward for the building of a medical college and the selection of a secretary for the Board of Education), Martin Luther King described the ghetto section of Newark as a "powder keg". Floyd McKissick, director of CORE, spoke these admonitions, "There will be more race riots in America this coming summer. Nobody in his sane mind could predict otherwise."

About this time, Florida's Republican Representative Cramer introduced an anti-riot bill into Congress. Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, was greatly displeased with this action and voiced his opposition not only to the bill but to Cramer also. Wilkins seemed to believe that the legislation would be likely to deepen pessimism among Negroes. "Too many people," he said, "want to make the Negro 'behave' but do not want to give him justice. They think the riot prevention consists of crackdown laws and crackdown police." He went on to refute Cramer by saying that "he (Cramer) and his colleagues have great wrestlings with their souls and wordy parliamentary debates in considering, trimming, altering, or rejecting a civil rights bill. When they refuse to enact legislation such as the civil rights bill of 1967, they are creating the atmosphere in which an outbreak of violence can occur." On the brink of radicalism and moderatism lie the thoughts of the very controversial Albert Black, chairman of the Human Commission. His views are essential, however, to the development of the moderate theme. "The true conspiracy," he stated, "that did cause the recent disturbances was years of despair, disease, jobless-

ness, police brutality, and long impacted cynicism." Throughout the riots and in their aftermath, he blasted the Newark police calling them "a bunch of animals", but then stating that "the majority are good but a few disgrace the uniform representing law and order." Black also criticized State Attorney General Sills for his saying that "it is hard to believe that any brutality charges on the part of the state police could be true." He found it "difficult to understand Sills prejudging the issue of the state police brutality before any investigations into the matter had been completed." I agree that the statement by Attorney General Sills was rash and a little too confident, but I also believe that Mr. Black ought to "practice what he preaches" for his observations are also prejudging the issue and cannot be considered dogma by any means.

The Negroes in Newark are represented in the City Council by Mr. Calvin West and by Mr. Irvine Turner, both of whom are colored. However, at the time of the riots, neither was present to discuss the problem with their people. Councilman Turner was ill and Councilman West was in Boston attending a Convention for the NAACP. It was only a short time ago that Mr. West had proclaimed at Newark's 300th. anniversary celebration that "some out-of-towners came here passing out leaflets on how to assemble a Molotov cocktail. We collected the leaflets, we talked to the people, and as you can see today, there is no riot here, there is no racial violence." Little did he know that only a few months later Newark would erupt into a volcano of anger.

It is not too far from the mark to state that one reason why the rioting finally halted was that the community had run short of provi-

sions. However, as the moderate Negroes themselves have said, "There is no guarantee that the summer of 1968 will not be even worse than the past one." James A. Pawley, executive director of the Urban League of Essex County, said the trouble was "predictable--but unfortunately, people were not listening. Until the establishment sets up some dialogue with the people, we can look for real trouble."

So the warning has been given. Likewise, the causes of the past rioting revealed. If the views of these moderate leaders and their organizations are accurate, and all seems to indicate they are, the people of Newark, together with their officials, must make a fervent effort to resolve the treacherous conditions which now exist. Should these realities continue as the summer months approach, the city of Newark ought to prepare itself for a tidal wave of vengeance and a time of mass destruction--for all is ready once again.

Myriam

2.6.2. *DATE*

The Newark Riot as Compared to
Detroit and Watts

Other editors:

This also includes an explanation of the economic conditions of the ghetto

The riots which rocked Newark's Central Ward during July 1967 were the worst since those ~~in~~ Watts, ~~Los Angeles~~.

They were surpassed only by those which devastated Detroit three weeks later. Detroit claimed the the highest death toll, forty. Watts counted thirty five killed and Newark listed the mortalities at near twenty five or thirty. Detroit also claimed the most injuries, ~~two thousand, two hundred fifty.~~ ²²⁵⁰

Newark ranked second with ~~one thousand, two hundred,~~ ¹²⁰⁰ and Watts was third with ~~one thousand thirty two.~~ ¹⁰³²

The grim box score continues with estimated cost of the damage. Detroit was again the leader with ^{a loss of} ~~over~~ two hundred fifty million dollars. Watts had forty million dollars, and Newark over fifteen million

dollars. The only department in which Detroit did not lead was arrests. Watts claimed ~~four thousand~~ ⁴⁴⁵² ~~four hundred fifty two,~~ ⁴⁰⁰⁰ Detroit ~~four thousand,~~ and Newark totalled ~~one thousand three hundred,~~ ¹³⁰⁰

It is evident then, that Detroit suffered through the worst riot in modern day American History.

Watts holds a slight edge over Newark also, and for one important reason: Detroit and Watts resembled each other to a great degree. The battle cry of the Los Angeles insurrection was "Burn, Baby, Burn", and although the Motor City never developed a cry of its own, the aspect of burning in the two areas was strikingly similar. The great ghastly toll of deaths, injuries and damage in both Detroit and Watts can be attributed to fire, whereas there was no large scale arson in Newark. Entire city blocks frequently burned to the ground in the aforementioned leading tragedies, but in Newark, sniper fire and raging gun battles took preference over fiery pillage.

So much for the cold statistics. They are but the numerical evaluation of three insurrections.

APPENDIX A

Statistical Comparison - Newark - Watts - Detroit

APPENDIX B

RECENT ELECTIONS - CITY OF NEWARK

STATISTICS FROM
1962 (Newark Evening News MAY 8 1962) MAYORAL

WARD	ADDONIZIO, Hugh	* CARLIN, LEO P	WEINER, HERBERT Z
NORTH	16 397	8 231	224
WEST	14 127	9 815	259
SOUTH		7 496	223
EAST	10 002	8 456	462
SOUTH	13 220	40 35	206
CENTRAL	8 477		
T	62 223	38036	1374
Civilian-Soldier absentee	115	119	1
GRAND TOTAL	62338	38155	1375

* - denotes incumbent

STATISTICS FROM
1966 (Newark Star-Ledger May 11 1966)

MAYORAL

WARD	* ADDONIZIO, Hugh	Carlin, Leo P	Gibson, Kenneth	Castellano	Bontempo	Kilg
NORTH	12051	4694	1033	4921	471	79
WEST	10886	5272	2471	2057	614	232
EAST	7462	5044	1565	1798	360	158
SOUTH	9154	3153	6280	790	411	349
CENTRAL	6264	577	4765	328	168	355
T	45817	18740	16114	9894	2024	1173
ABSENTEE	70	44	3	11	4	1
GRAND TOTAL	45887	18,784	16,117	9905	2028	1174

RUN-OFF (STATISTICS FROM NEWARK EVENING NEWS)

WARD	* ADDONIZIO, HUGH J	CARLIN, LEO P.
NORTH	12150	4074
WEST	10495	4998
EAST	8416	5542
SOUTH	11,006	4019
CENTRAL	5700	967
T	47767	19600
ABSENTEE	67	29
GRAND TOTAL	47834	19629

1966

COUNCIL MANIC

ELECTIONS

(STATISTICS FROM
Newark Evening News)

May 11 1966)

COUNCILMAN - AT - LARGE

* Goliano	37 686	ELECTED
* Villani	33 532	ELECTED
Callaghan	21 353	ELECTED
West	20 201	ELECTED
Del Tufo	18 983	
Caputo	17 554	
Ewing	17 287	
Stubbs	16 429	
Marmo	15 440	
Farrell	14 886	
Toxson	13 354	
Thomas	13 236	
Sachs	10 697	
Salvatore	10 069	
Mazzuca	4 559	

COUNCIL - (STATISTICS FROM NEWARK EVENING NEWS)

NORTH WARD

* Melillo	13 332
Cicccone	4 963

CENTRAL WARD

* Turner	5 388
Richardson	3 812

WEST WARD

* Addonizio	7 627	IN RUN-OFF	* ADDONIZIO	8 558	(no relation to Mayor)
Bottone	3 472		BOTTONE	5 958	
Richardson	2 733				
Daniele	2 702				
Berblino	1 343				
Gilbert	279				

EAST WARD

* Gordon	6 041	IN RUN-OFF	* GORDON	7 069
Turco	4 255		TURCO	7 007
Stolowski	2 762			
Santos	1 022			
Di Belk	605			
Geraci	387			
Kehm	131			

SOUTH WARD

* Bernstein	6 308	IN RUN-OFF	* BERNSTEIN	8 160
Harris	5 021		HARRIS	7 546
Payne	3 467			
Trugman	3 211			